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California Political Review

Some Post-Election Speculations

by

Alan Heslop • James W. Robinson
L. P. Arnn • Robert Naylor
David Dreier • Lewis K. Uhler
Harold Johnson • K. E. Grubbs Jr.
Thomas C. Ellick • Aaron Wildavsky
Donald C. Bauder • William Ratliff
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The '90s

Also:

Dr. Duesberg Shakes Up the AIDS Industry

A Legacy of Hayden's '60s: *Madness in the Streets*

Sacto Spectator Gives One Cheer for Nov. 6

Vol. 1, No. 4 *A Publication of the California Public Policy Foundation* Fall 1990

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Ending the Liberal Monopoly in California Journalism

Should liberals continue to straightjacket California's political debate? No matter its failures, the left's creaking, derelict statism still shapes every discussion — *for* big government "solutions," *for* continuous tax increases, *for* more bureaucratic control, *belittling* individual freedom, *maligning* individual responsibility. Liberalism's monopoly in California journalism is the cause. ***California Political Review*** is the cure. Add *your* name to the growing list of California conservative leaders reading *California Political Review*. Subscribe today!

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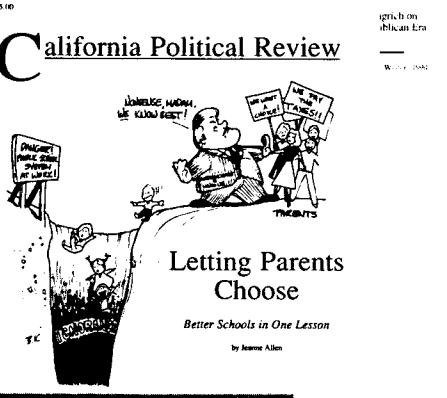
— Bruce Herschensohn

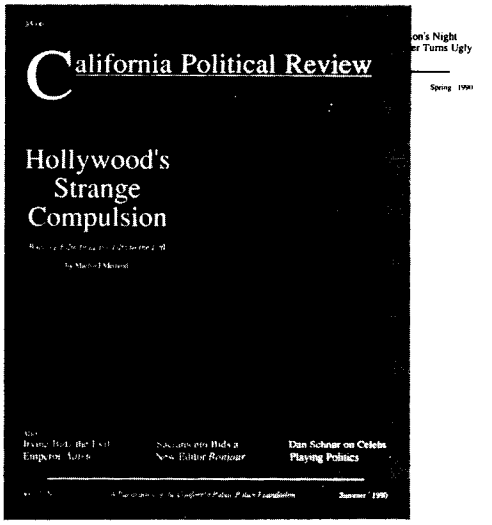
I have just seen the Summer 1990 issue of California Political Review, and I can't tell you how impressed I am with it. My congratulations and very best wishes.

— William A. Rusher

California Political Review will help ensure that all viewpoints are placed before the public.

— Hon. George Deukmejian





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Must reading for informed Conservatives

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California Political Review

Fall 1990

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Correspondence

Summer Breeds Content

I have just seen the Summer 1990 issue of *California Political Review*, and I can't tell you how impressed I am with it. My congratulations and very best wishes.

William A. Rusher
San Francisco

I just wanted to tell you how impressed I was with the last issue of *CPR*. It was good reading literally cover to cover, very thought-provoking. Good work.

Hon. Patrick J. Nolan
Glendale

Cryptic References and Sober Judges

Thanks for giving readers information about Oregon's unfortunately unsuccessful Education Choice initiative. Coverage in the *L. A. Times*, as far as I have been able to tell, was limited to a couple of deeply-buried two-inch stories with cryptic references to a ballot proposition that would "allow tax credits for church-sponsored schools."

The first story, on September 25, said the initiative, along with four others, had been removed from the ballot by "Marion County Circuit Judge Richard Barbar" because the initiatives wouldn't "be accompanied by financial impact statements as required by state law." The second *Times* story called this "a technicality."

It reminded me of Rose Bird's deft handling years ago of a wildly popular ballot measure that would have committed California to supporting a balanced budget amendment to the federal constitution. As she was so often able to do with laws she found inconvenient, Bird found something in the already-qualified measure so inconsistent with constitutional government that the annoying thing simply *had* to come off the ballot.

Fortunately, according to the second *Times* report, Oregon's Supreme Court reversed Judge Barbar's ruling, restoring the education measure for the voters to decide. Do Oregon Supreme Court justices stand for election periodically as California's do? If so, perhaps California's generous rejection of Justice Bird is still paying dividends by sobering high court justices tempted to play politics.

J. Gregory Parnell
Santa Monica

A Problem With Logic

One problem with Jim Schefter's logic ("Correspondence," *CPR*, Summer 1990) about the role of pro-death versus pro-life in November's election: no vote for either side can change the truth that abortion means killing.

Mr. Schefter wrote that "the Right-to-Life folks are going to cost us elections in every quarter. There is no way that, as a party, we can survive them."

He has swallowed the major media's line. News columns intimate that pro-choice-to-kill candidates have taken the popular stance, but then are silent when pro-life candidates win. Did Mr. Schefter notice "Sacramento Spectator" in *CPR*'s Spring issue? Two pro-life candidates, Frank Hill and Gil Ferguson, finished first and second in a special election for Bill Campbell's seat. The pro-abortion candidate, Ron Isles, was far behind with 11 percent. Then there was Marian Bergeson beating switcher John Seymour in the primary. And Dan Lungren beating Arlo Smith in the general. The truth is pro-life candidates *do* win, not always, but their record is vastly better than the media would like anyone to think.

Mr. Schefter's advice that pro-lifers should keep quiet reminds me of the '88 Democrats — Pete Kostmayer saying: "We're not going to blow it this time. Just shut up gays, women, environmentalists. Just shut up. You'll get everything you want after the election. But, just for the meantime, shut up so that we can win." Didn't work so well for them, of course. As Seymour perhaps figured out after the primary, voters are perceptive enough to see through these obvious attempts to decieve them. More importantly, they respect politicians who take positions honestly, tell where they stand, and stick to it. When you're looking for leaders, waffling doesn't make it.

Frances Sloan
San Diego

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California Chronicles

John Gurley, editor

California Chronicles reports on current activities and projects of conservative leaders and organizations around the Golden State.

Committee on Media Integrity

Politicized Public Television

The Los Angeles-based Committee on Media Integrity, organized "To Promote Balance in Government Funded Media," scored a major, if short-lived, victory in helping convince the Public Broadcasting System's Los Angeles affiliate, KCET, to stop broadcasting the series "South Africa Now" on grounds it is biased in favor of the African National Congress. The committee is headed by David Horowitz, co-author with Peter Collier of the book *Destructive Generation* and author of "Letter to a Political Friend" which appeared in *CPR*'s Spring issue.

Horowitz's group pointed out the leftist bias of "South Africa Now" through a series of letters and meetings with KCET officials. The station's Senior Vice President and Station Manager Stephen Kulczycki went so far as to admit, according to a *Los Angeles Times* report, that the series "gives only cursory attention to views of liberal whites and blacks, as well as to the South African government and others who differ with the policies of the African National Congress, the party of Nelson Mandela." Kulczycki was quoted as saying the show's "producers don't seem to want to present a broad spectrum of views" about South Africa's future. He soon learned what it means to interfere with political propaganda at PBS.

Los Angeles City Councilman Robert Farrell reportedly became "so outraged" by the show's cancellation he threatened to ask the council (which gave KCET $25,000 last year) to withhold future funding. "Community Activists" and university professors demanded the series be restored. Pressure was applied to KCET's Community Advisory Board which obligingly reprimanded KCET for pulling the series.

One week of this was quite enough for Kulczycki and KCET President William Kobin. They issued a statement saying they'd viewed an upcoming segment of "South Africa Now" and were "delighted" to report that all trace of bias and lack of balance had disappeared from the series. Their headlong retreat elicited only contempt from the show's producers who blithely denied they'd changed anything about "South Africa Now."

According to a *Times* report, Horowitz called the reversal "political and moral cowardice.

"Whereas the previous decision was made not under pressure, as a matter of the show's indefensible nature, this one was steamrollered by a political juggernaut from the left."

The Committee on Media Integrity has engaged KCET in a running battle over leftward bias in the station's programming. A recent letter from Horowitz to Kulczycki noted that "for Hispanic Month, the two cultural figures featured in hour-long documentaries by KCET were a Marxist and a pro-Castro leftist."

The Committee on Media Integrity's Advisory Board includes former U.S. Civil Rights Commission Chairman William B. Allen, *Orange County Register* Editorial and Commentary Director Ken Grubbs, KABC radio commentator Dennis Prager, and California Sen. Bill Leonard. Contact: David Horowitz, chairman, P.O. Box 2669, Hollywood, CA 90078, 213/463-9894.

Reason Magazine

ACLU Agonistes

October's issue of *Reason* magazine hit a nerve with its analysis of shifting priorities at the American Civil Liberties Union. The article was written up at some length in Bob Spichen's "Magazines" column in the *Los Angeles Times*.

Reason Assistant Editor Charles Oliver argues in the piece that the ACLU's first concern through most of its history has been First

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Amendment cases, but that more recently abortion and civil rights have eclipsed speech as the ACLU's top priorities, particularly since the organization lost 20 percent of its members after defending a group of neo-Nazis who wanted to march through the predominantly Jewish town of Skokie, Illinois, in 1977.

Now, writes Oliver, the ACLU is more selective in choosing whose freedom of speech it will defend, passing over such unpopular (with its liberal membership) groups as, for instance, prolife protesters.

"Such waffling," Oliver writes, "inspires doubts about the organization's future as a First Amendment defender." Besides the notice in the *Times*, *Reason*'s criticism might have struck a chord at the ACLU itself. Late October press reports say the ACLU has filed a brief supporting the prolife group Operation Rescue's appeal of a federal judge's ruling upholding the use of "pain compliance" techniques by the Los Angeles Police Department. Pain compliance, ACLU's brief reportedly argues, violates 4th and 5th Amendment constitutional rights.

Other good news for *Reason*: the magazine's circulation figures recently passed the 40,000 mark for the first time in the publication's history. Congratulations! Contact: Kevin Teasley, director of Public Affairs, the Reason Foundation, 2716 Ocean Park Blvd., Ste. 1062, Santa Monica, CA 90405, 213/392-0443.

Pacific Research Institute

Civil Rights and Political Equality
The Pacific Research Institute's Center for Applied Jurisprudence is sponsoring a Task Force on Civil Rights whose membership includes Californians William B. Allen (former U.S. Civil Rights Commission chairman), Robert Detlefsen of California State University, San Bernardino, attorney Manuel Klausner, and William H. Mellor III of PRI.

The first book to come from this PRI project is *Unfinished Business* by Clint Bolick, director of the Landmark Center for Civil Rights in Washington, D.C. Bolick's book says what should not need to be said, since it is so obvious, but must be pointed out anyway: that fighting racism by constructing racial quota systems is irrational, hypocritical, and counterproductive.

In addition, *Unfinished Business* examines government-created barriers to economic activity and advancement including licensing laws, minimum wage controls,

and the Davis-Bacon Act. Removing these, he shows, is not only the path to genuine economic liberation for minorities (and everyone else), it is also *the* colorblind solution to racism. It works because it unifies rather than divides; it banishes racial distinctions rather than embedding them in the system; it deals with economic and social reality rather than socialist, racist, or liberal fantasy. Contact: Pamela A. Riley, 177 Post St., San Francisco, CA 94108, 415/989-0833.

Criminal Justice Legal Foundation

Harris Stay Overturned
A three-judge panel of the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals upheld Robert Alton Harris's murder conviction and death sentence in late August bringing Harris's now more than 12-year-old appeal a step closer to conclusion. Last spring, a federal judge stayed his execution shortly before it was to take place. The Criminal Justice Legal Foundation filed an *amicus* brief on behalf of the Attorneys General of five western states opposing Harris's latest appeal.

Harris is a particularly important case because in the course of his long appeal, Harris's attorneys have raised, and the courts have rejected, almost every imaginable argument for overturning a death sentence in California. When his sentence is finally carried out, few grounds will remain for anti-death penalty attorneys to use to keep California's capital punishment law from being enforced. It should at last begin to operate as intended by the voters. Contact: Mike Rushford, 2131 L St., Sacramento, CA 95816, 916/446-0345.

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Commentary

Doing Isaiah's Job, Eloquently

IN HIS essay, "Isaiah's Job," Albert Nock reported that, in commissioning His prophet, the Lord told Isaiah not to worry too greatly about the reaction of most of the people, which would be almost universally negative, to his message. There was another reason for his work. "There is a Remnant there that you know nothing about," said the Lord. "They are obscure, unorganized, inarticulate, each one rubbing along as best he can. They need to be encouraged and braced up, because when everything has gone completely to the dogs, they are the ones who will come back and build up a new society, and meanwhile your preaching will reassure them and keep them hanging on. Your job is to take care of the Remnant."

We have recently seen William Buckley's retirement as editor of *National Review* after many years serving the Remnant, and the passing of Malcolm Muggeridge, another singular practitioner of Isaiah's job in our often lonely modern world. One of Buckley's colleagues at *NR* told me several years ago that it would be a mistake to suppose that the purpose of a journal like *NR* was to build up some vast following among the multitudes eventually sweeping the opposition from the field and renewing the world in wisdom, grace, and truth. That would certainly be pleasant, of course, but not at all the way the world really works. Actually the magazine's purpose was one far more like that laid out by the Lord to his prophet.

"YOU CANNOT know which solitary souls out there you will reach," the man said. "A student weary of the tired orthodoxy deluging him and looking for something else, some member of an officeholder's staff in need of encouragement, someone with great responsibilities through whom your message might actually touch larger numbers, but won't do so directly — those people are our audience."

His words struck a chord with me personally since I had been, a few years earlier, exactly the kind of student he described. I vividly remember a day I went to the campus library in search of writings by a man named Buckley about whom I knew little more than that he was reputed to be an articulate conservative, something I was beginning to doubt existed. I hadn't been particularly "political" before that time, though from earliest memory I had been taught at home the obvious preferability of freedom over slavery and that government was the enemy of freedom, no matter how cleverly it might disguise its activities to make itself appear otherwise.

The message I had received at school over the years — drearily the same in elementary school, high school, and college — did not so much deny the preferability of freedom as its practicality. A world without huge government programs simply could not be. It struck me then, as liberalism does today, as a pathetically sad view of life, quite devoid of the cheery optimism that liberals usually attribute to it. But the sheer, implacable, never contradicted repetition of this dour notion had begun to make me doubt. If freedom is *not* just an impossible ideal, why does no one, I mean *no one*, say so?

I FOUND THAT day, finally, someone who *did* say so, and said it not only as eloquently as all those professors and teachers had poured forth their lines, but far more richly, thoughtfully, and honestly than any message I could recall ever having encountered in the classroom. I had pulled a slim volume titled *Up From Liberalism* from the shelf and spent most of the rest of the day with it. I like to think I missed several crucial lectures in the Poli Sci department that day; I know it was one the most enjoyable afternoons I have ever spent. At the risk of sounding melodramatic, I can truthfully say it changed my life. I no longer doubted.

Later, in a different way, Malcolm Muggeridge came along to encourage and brace me up as Buckley had done earlier. I don't know, any more than these two men know, how many others out there owe them this kind of debt, though I have no doubt there are many. I tell this personal story only to give evidence that Nock was right. And to say thank you at the closing of this phase of their distinguished service.

— *John Kurzweil*

Gorbachev's Lesson

AMONG THE salutary effects of the collapse of the Soviet Empire is that we now sometimes read clear common sense about economics, even in daily newspapers. For instance, a recent dispatch from

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Sacramento Spectator

Toil and Trouble and Cauldron Bubble

UNTIL THE week after the November election when Dan Lungren finally defeated Arlo Smith for Attorney General, the best thing to happen for California conservatives on election day was the re-election of Jesse Helms in North Carolina. That should tell you all you need to want to know about November 6, 1990.

Actually there were a couple of bright spots, though mainly on the ballot proposition front, not in the realm of elected officialdom. The defeat of Big Green and the equally radical anti-timber industry Prop. 130 was a serious defeat for the left. They had invested two years and nearly tens of millions of dollars in those two attempts to cripple business in California. It cost business a lot to fight back, but at least they *did* fight back. Perhaps this will sink in for the future when other business interest find themselves in the left's electoral gun sights.

NINETEEN-NINETY-ONE SEEMS likely to be a cantankerous, divisive, and perhaps bitterly partisan year in Sacramento. Governor-elect Pete Wilson infuriated the rajahs of the Legislature with his endorsement of the term limitation Proposition 140. In addition, there will be the ordeal of reapportionment and redistricting (*not* the same thing) to go through, and even if a modest "protect all incumbents" plan is eventually adopted, there will be plenty of paranoia and mind-games around to keep the cauldron bubbling.

And add to all that the battles and anguish in store when time comes to tackle what promises to be an extremely difficult budget situation, and you have the recipe for very contentious times. On the other hand, nobody forced these folks to take the job.

By the way, anyone who tells you they know who Pete Wilson is going to appoint to his Senate seat is lying. Wilson has laid down hints in many different directions. Don't be surprised if the final name is a *real* surprise, not somebody on all of the media "probable" lists.

GEORGE DEUKMEJIAN was elected in 1982 with only lukewarm support from some conservatives, most of whom supported Mike Curb against Duke in the primary. He leaves office held in high regard by conservative politicos both in and out of the Capitol building. His judicial appointments have thoroughly changed the make-up of the judicial branch from the shambles it was in by the end of the era of Jerry Brown and Rose Bird. That, in and of itself, earns him a place on the conservative honor role.

Of 47 races around the country for governor, senator, or Congress where abortion was made a major issue, pro-life candidates won 28 while pro-death candidates won 19. Didn't realize that? You've been watching too much television.

THE IMPENDING appointment of William Bennett to head the Republican National Committee has conservatives in Sacramento cheering. They see Bennett as coming from the same no-nonsense, take no prisoners mold as Lee Atwater.

They also think that had Atwater or Bennett been at the helm the last six months, President Bush would not have blundered into the disastrous budget "deal" with the Democrats. Post-election analysis from both parties indicates that the Bush vacillation on taxes — and the budget deal in general — cost the GOP 8 to 10 House seats, 3 to 4 governors, and 75 to 100 state legislative seats. Take it from ol' A. P. C., George, the next time you feel like "dealing" with the Democrats, listen to Bill Bennett instead.

A big part of Bennett's job, insiders say, will be to help sharpen the differences between the parties in the public's mind. They could use some honing just now, to say the least.

— *A . P . C .*

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Moscow began: "The Soviet Union on Thursday took a major step toward ending state control of prices, long a barrier to fundamental economic reform."

It would be even more pleasant to read such common sense applied to state control of prices in America: to, say, minimum wage controls, rent controls, or Proposition 103-style controls on insurance premiums.

IF STATE control of prices is bad policy in the Soviet Union, it is bad policy everywhere. Prices inform sellers and buyers of endlessly changing market conditions. Price controls send false signals which result in wasted time, talent, energy, money, and, not least of all, goodwill. The waste spreads through the economy because resources used inefficiently in one market are lost to other markets. More waste ensues impoverishing us all.

Socialism's problem is that it always sees news of economic change as evil tidings, as evidence that some greedy malefactor in the citadels of power is pulling strings to force the weak and powerless to fork out ever greater portions of their meager sustenance to fatten the purses of the wealthy. In socialist mythology every economic problem becomes a moral confrontation.

Actually, economics is a technical discipline that requires the sort of dispassionate, objective approach scientists bring to physics or medicine. Socialist economies collapse because, in attempting to impose moral law and order upon what the left thinks would otherwise be a rapacious moral anarchy, they manacle the people with all sorts of detailed controls on their economic activities. They deny people the freedom to adjust to life's vicissitudes, a freedom without which no economy can flourish.

THE DEBATE in the Soviet Union is at the relatively sober stage at which, the cycle having run its course from left-wing moral indignation through dictatorship to economic collapse, price controls are now seen as the pointless, poverty-inducing straitjackets on economic activity that they are. In America, unfortunately, the debate lags far behind.

As if to illustrate the contrast, during a recent trip to Moscow Ralph Nader reportedly expressed "shock" when a Soviet official praised the free market economics of Milton Friedman. Nader then, according to news reports, went on to protest plans to privatize Soviet television. Having duly made an intercontinental ass of himself, Nader returned home.

The extent to which the economic debate in America remains mired in left-wing morality-play emotionalism can be gauged by the Cotton Mather tones employed, for instance, by Harvey Rosenfield (chairman of the group that sponsored Proposition 103) in discussing price controls and the insurance business:

"The greed and arrogance of the insurance industry should never be underestimated," began a recent, more or less typical, Rosenfield op-ed column. Having set the *ad hominem* tone, Harvey plowed forward, drowning the debate in a squid-like ink of emotion. In these murky depths clear thinking is impossible. The question actually at issue — the wisdom of price controls — is left safely out of the discussion.

NOW HARVEY Rosenfield is not an idiot; at least he doesn't appear to be one. So what makes him and other apparently intelligent individuals like Nader carry on as they do? The answer is that socialism is not an alternative idea of how best to deal with life's difficulties, but an ideology for people who *don't want* to deal with life's difficulties.

"Philosophers have explained the world," Marxists say. "It is necessary to change the world." Socialism is a revolt against what its adherents consider an unjust world that ought to be rejected and changed, not accepted or endured. The left rejects, or simply ignores, rules about supply and demand, about the detrimental effects of price controls, and all the other scientifically-established laws of economics as part of its larger revolt against reality itself, against a world they see as overrun with exploitation, suffering, and hatred, against a world that must be changed. Any other course, for the left, constitutes collaboration with the enemies of everything good.

In this context, the attacks these people level ceaselessly and with so much vicious bitterness against business — insurers one day, automakers the next, oil companies the next — become understandable. Businessmen not only fail to reject the world but, evil of evils, they embrace *and profit* from it.

Socialism is the ideology of decadence: the pathetic whine of men too bloated with the wealth freedom bestows to summon the strength any longer to live free. A word of caution to Rosenfield, Nader, and all those tempted to follow them into fantasyland: listen to those who have been there. Not even Soviet officials any longer want to live under socialism. Not even life-long communist Mikhail S. Gorbachev is any longer fooled about price controls. CPR

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A Symposium

REFLECTIONS ON CALIFORNIA IN THE '90s

SIXTEEN CALIFORNIANS LOOK AT THE ELECTION JUST PAST AND THE DECADE TO COME

Alan Heslop • James W. Robinson
L. P. Arnn • Robert Naylor
David Dreier • Lewis K. Uhler
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Thomas C. Ellick • Aaron Wildavsky
Donald C. Bauder • William Ratliff,
Michael Rushford • Robert W. Poole Jr.
John Ridge • Joseph Farah

Election Overview

Alan Heslop

ALL PAST RECORDS were broken in the initiative business in 1990. All told, not less than $200 million was spent, and the general hoopla for the top initiatives — Tom Hayden's Big Green leading the pack, but closely followed by the liquor tax initiatives — far exceeded the excitement generated by all the legislative campaigns combined.

The decline of representative government in Sacramento is, in fact, well measured by the rise of the initiative industry. The November ballot's 28 state initiatives (described in 224-page booklets) offered voters far more real choice than the legislative elections that were hopelessly dominated by incumbents. They posed issues far more substantial than the subject matter of most of the 1500 or so laws passed annually out of the Capitol.

Hayden's Prop. 128, ballyhooed as the beginning of a new environmentalist movement that would spread across the country, flopped badly. Indeed, its disastrous showing seems to have contributed to Dianne Feinstein's defeat, for Pete Wilson ran especially strongly in the

Alan Heslop is director of the Rose Institute.

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Central Valley and other rural areas. Again, in the tradition of gun control, liberal ballot measures helped GOP candidates.

THE FEINSTEIN CANDIDACY

Although Feinstein's loss disproved the cruder versions of the thesis that women vote for women, the election results bear some warnings for the GOP. Feinstein ran more strongly than recent top-of-the-ticket Democrats in Southern California suburbs. Even after all absentee ballots are counted, it seems Wilson will have failed to pile up the usual lead of GOP presidential and gubernatorial candidates in Orange County. Suburbs that contributed mightily to Wilson's runaway victory over McCarthy in 1988 gave him many fewer votes in 1990. Bush's narrow victory over Dukakis would have been impossible with the Wilson vote totals in 1990 in these areas.

It seems fairly clear that numbers of Republican women whose party identification is weak, or who are strongly motivated by women's issues, voted for Feinstein; and such voting is more common in suburban areas. Further analysis is likely to show that some of the difference between Wilson's showing in rural and suburban California is to be explained by a very mild form of the gender gap.

TERM LIMITS: 131 AND 140

The campaigns for these two initiatives — modest affairs in both cases, with tiny budgets — brought together an interesting array of groups. Defeated proponents of the June redistricting reform initiatives were prominent in both campaigns. So, too, were women and minority political activists, frustrated by incumbents' monopoly control of elections. Conservative Democrats and liberal Republicans, striking against the dominant wings of their parties in Sacramento's caucuses, were much in evidence, the former mostly supporting Prop. 140, the latter mostly Prop. 131.

The initiatives' opponents enjoyed an advantage of probably more than five-to-one in terms of advertising expenditures, and much more than that in terms of slate cards and mass telephone.

Yet, in an impressive showing that voters do read the fine print on ballots, Prop. 140 won while Prop. 131 — with its plan for publicly-funded campaigns — lost with almost a million fewer votes.

Proposition 140's Term Limits may prove the best antidote to either the partisan or the bipartisan gerrymanders

Now the legislative establishment will launch a lawsuit (using tax dollars?) to block 140. Hoping to recover in court what they lost at the polls, they seek a friendly judge to strike out of the Constitution the provisions the people put in on election day.

THE NEW DECADE

The election results promise little immediate relief from the political stalemate in the Capitol. Democrats added slightly to their already substantial majorities in both chambers; and tensions between the Legislature and the Executive had undoubtedly been irritated by Pete Wilson's bold endorsement of Prop. 140.

Perhaps the most interesting question is how redistricting will be affected — and, in particular, how the huge prize of seven new Congressional seats will be distributed. The threat of a harsh partisan gerrymander of the 1981 type seems significantly reduced by Wilson's election. But what about a repetition of 1982's bi-partisan gerrymander? Can Gov. Wilson hold back enough Republicans — some of whom are no less careerist in temper than their Democrat colleagues — to sustain a veto of a sweetheart redistricting bill?

Prop. 140's Term Limits may prove the best antidote to either the partisan or the bipartisan gerrymanders. Since all seats now open at least once a decade, party leaders must draw the districts more cautiously than before. They can't count on established incumbencies to help buffer them against tides of opinion; and therefore, if the partisan gerrymander is to last the decade, it must be drawn to be a little less efficient.

The incumbent gerrymander is also complicated by Prop. 140's stimulus to competition. As career Assembly members think ahead to 1996, when their terms are to end, they will jostle to draw the new lines for Senate and Congress. Imagine the competition between the chambers! Imagine the struggles among incumbents!

Let's hope that 1991-92 will see the gerrymanders of 1981-82 overturned, not merely adjusted and amended. The future of representative government in Sacramento hinges on the return of electoral competition to our legislative districts. The initiative ballot will continue to swell until voters again believe their Legislature is responsive to the needs of a changing California.

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Wilson

The New Administration

Mandate for Conservative Change

James W. Robinson

AFTER A DECADE of expanding economic opportunity and personal freedom through the Reagan-Deukmejian policies of lower taxes and limited government, we more recently have seen an unfortunate resurgence of the old tax and spend mentality in the nation's state houses and in Washington. Yet in 1990, voters across the country consistently rejected this liberal trend, showing a broad desire to return to an era of conservative change. One fourth of all governors running for reelection lost, most because they raised taxes.

In California, voters rejected virtually every measure on the ballot to raise taxes or increase government debt, spending and regulation. They struck forcefully at the legislative establishment by enacting term limits, and passed Gov. Deukmejian's plan to put prison inmates to work, a concept vociferously opposed by the liberal establishment.

For the first time since 1954 voters are replacing an outgoing governor with a new governor from the same party. Clearly, Californians like George Deukmejian's common sense leadership — after the Jerry Brown debacle — and see in Governor-elect Wilson a capable leader who can build on its successes.

What are the key elements of the conservative change begun under Gov. Deukmejian's leadership? California is changing from a high tax to a moderate tax state. We are transforming an over-regulated economy into a job-producing deregulated economy. A liberal judiciary and criminal justice policy have been largely supplanted by a conservative approach. A philosophy of welfare dependency has been replaced with a workfare policy and 2.8 million new private sector job opportunities. Our state, known in 1982 for budget deficits and fiscal irresponsibility, is now respected by the financial community for budget surpluses and budget reform.

IT IS NO secret that some California conservatives have in the past cast a skeptical eye on Pete Wilson. But I believe conservatives should take great comfort

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The Test of His Life

L. P. Arnn

THE CHIEF PROBLEM facing the Wilson administration is the progressive unaccountability of the government of the state and of the nation. The secondary problem is the vast inefficiency and wastefulness, and the swollen scope and scale, of the government's every operation.

Gov. Deukmejian fought as hard as a man has fought in that job in memory. He vetoed more bills and stood firm on more controversial issues than any recent predecessor. Nonetheless, government grew at the accustomed rapid pace, outstripping growth in population, or growth of the gross state product, or of any relevant comparative measure. In the end it had increased its size by well over 100 percent. We are firmly established as a leader among leaders in high-taxed states. Yet we have too little money for roads, bridges, school buildings, water recovery, or waste disposal.

Our education system — now much larger than the whole state government when Deukmejian took office and guaranteed in the Constitution a fat portion of new revenues — continues to deliver putrid, though in some respects slightly improved, results. We compete with the likes of Poland; the worst school in Hong Kong rivals the best in California. Red tape and central administration multiply. And we go toward year-around schooling.

OF COURSE THE welfare system continues to encourage unwed motherhood and divorce. Local government, partly driven by the avarice of central authority, continues to regulate the middle class out of the housing mar-

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in his election and in the message voters sent through their actions on the ballot measures.

No two governors hold exactly the same priorities and emphases, and that is as it should be. But if conservatives are hoping for a governor who will continue to unleash private enterprise, hold the line on needless government, pursue significant budget reform, appoint judges who are tough on crime, and perhaps most importantly, hold out for fair redistricting, I predict we will find kindred spirits in Pete Wilson and his administration.

TO SAY IT will not be easy could be the understatement of the year. The Wilson Administration will be as lonely as we have been in Sacramento, surrounded by opponents in government and the media. We often felt we were doing battle alone. During disputes with the Legislature, the liberal interest groups were exremely vocal — demonstrations were held, letters to the editor and op-ed articles appeared, and the lobbyists and public relations firms were unleashed. Supporters of our position seemed to fall silent.

Those who want to see Gov. Wilson *and* our common sense ideals prevail must make the political and policy playing fields competitive. After eight years in Sacramento's big government cocoon, I can tell you the drumbeat demands for higher taxes and bigger government are relentless. Even after an election that proved the people reject that philosophy, it is easy for an administration all alone in Sacramento to lose its perspective.

As the new administration assumes office, the responsible conservative course is not to nitpick every decision made by the new governor, but to provide him with critically needed backing for our philosophy and for his efforts to stand up to his many opponents in Sacramento and win both fair redistricting and budget reform.

ket. Rent control becomes more dominant; for the young, home ownership is a fading dream.

THE FESTERING OF these problems gives rise constantly to calls for more taxation. In truth, we are already taxed massively too much, and what we do not waste, we deploy in causes that do harm to most people affected.

The people know better than the politicians. Term limits are a crude instrument that will probably strengthen the bureaucracy. But they show the people know the system is no longer in their control. If Wilson can make the good opinions of the citizens a weapon in his arsenal, he could do what must be done.

The urgent requirement is reform. Deukmejian was elected to limit and to change the government. Wilson was not. And Wilson will deal with a Legislature more hostile, and its minority less aggressive and coherent, than his predecessor.

We do not, then, face a happy outlook. Wilson is a good man, and able, if wrong on several important issues. He will find the governorship of California to be the test of his life. Let us hope, for all our sakes, that he passes. Let us fight for the best, but be prepared for the worst.

The New Legislature

THE EFFECTS OF term limits and newly drawn districts will ripple through the Legislature in 1992 like the aftershocks of a political earthquake. Assuming Prop. 140 survives legal challenge, which is likely, every legislator now faces departure from

The Political Earthquake

Robert Naylor

office in 1996. All incumbent senators face only one more reelection. But massive turnover will likely begin well before 1996 as legislators depart to seize career opportunities, whether arising outside the Legislature or from redistricting. Legislators presented with opportunities for attractive employment will take them before their six years of remaining service expire rather than risk being limited to less attractive offers.

But redistricting will cause the first departures. California will gain seven Congressional seats in 1992 (with others opening up as both Republicans and Democrats seek the two U.S. Senate seats up for election that year). There will be an unprecedented musical-chairs-like scramble as members of both houses seek Congressional seats, Assemblymembers seek the vacated Senate seats, and some incumbents run against others because of dramatic shifts in district lines.

The partisan political effect of

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all this will depend upon the nature of the new districts, and that will depend upon the effectiveness of Gov. Wilson in keeping legislative Republicans unified enough to strike a bargain for districts that are fair from a statewide partisan standpoint (producing the kind of Legislature Californians would elect without distorted districts) as opposed to benefitting incumbents.

A STRONG POSSIBILITY exists of a "sweetheart deal" — a bipartisan gerrymander with sufficient support to override a Wilson veto. In that event, the partisan makeup of the Legislature will change very little, despite the massive population growth in largely Republican areas.

The turnover of incumbents should benefit the GOP slightly, which in some cases for the first time in a decade could have clear shots at relatively conservative seats now held by Democrats: Presley, Ayala, Vuich, Deddeh, and Boatwright in the Senate; Clute, Areias, Peace, Cortese, Bronzan, O'Connell, and Katz in the Assembly. Of course, there will be some potential offsetting gains for Democrats in marginal Republican seats (Filante, for example).

IN THIS CONTEXT, money and ideas will be paramount, and the party and philosophy that organizes itself most effectively will likely gain ground. Recently, Democrats have held the edge, mainly because Willie Brown and David Roberti have skillfully maintained a huge advantage in fundraising. But Republicans will now have unparalleled opportunities for major gains — if they can bring strong, cohesive leadership to the task. That will be a major test for Gov. Wilson during his first term.

HOW WILL TERM limits affect the quality of legislating? That is hard to predict. The Legislature will lose its best and brightest, and it will also lose those who least deserve to be there. In their place will be newcomers who leave jobs and run for office knowing that it cannot be their lifetime career. They will likely be very much in touch with the public, as freshman legislators are today. But in their final term they can ignore the public. There will be no members who are "experts" in any area and no institutional history, except as it is provided by staff — and staff will be relatively more powerful, if less numerous.

There may also be a shift in the power of interest groups. Broad-based groups — unions, doctors, lawyers, teachers, pharmacists, and farmers — may seize the opportunity to elect more of their own and gain greater influence, whereas interests represented by major corporations (oil, insurance, banks) will be hard pressed to find candidates who are familiar with their issues and even harder pressed to keep up sufficient contacts with the new legislators to have the same clout in legislative committees they now enjoy.

On balance, the Legislature is likely to be different but not dramatically different: marginally more responsive, and significantly more amateurish. And maybe, just maybe, the mere passage of Prop. 140 and the expression of "no confidence" it represents will have a sobering effect on most incumbents and will itself cause a self-searching re-examination of how the Legislature behaves in conducting the public's business.

The Bear Flag Delegation

WHILE MANY ELECTION observers have already written their postscripts on the Nov. 6 Congressional races, the real outcome may not be determined for several months, or even years. The leadership races, for example, will determine whether House Republicans can regroup and maintain a working coalition with President Bush. With the loss of nine seats in the House and one in the Senate, that relationship needs to be strengthened in an effort to fight off future tax increases already being planned by the Democrats.

Nationally, Democrats are misreading the underlying public sentiment of this election. Even before the polls closed, Democrat leaders said they will push for a significant increase in tax

Soak the Middle Class

David Dreier

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rates in 1991. A push to increase tax rates will be a serious mistake that could open the door for major Republican gains in 1992.

In November's elections, anti-tax sentiment helped unseat incumbent governors in Florida, Michigan, Kansas, Rhode Island, and Nebraska. The anti-tax revolt was nullified at the national level because the Democrats tricked the president into accepting a tax increase as part of a budget that promises $1.70 in new spending for every dollar in new revenues.

These tax increases always burn middle-income taxpayers — the Democrats' class warfare rhetoric notwithstanding — because any serious effort to reduce the federal deficit would require either sustained reductions in government spending or tax increases on middle-income families. (Confiscating every dollar of taxable income from individuals earning more than $1 million would keep the government running for 12 days.)

BUT EVEN THOUGH the deficit stands to *increase* under the Democrats' 1990 tax package, it still soaks the middle class through elimination of the inflation adjustment for tax brackets and excise tax increases on gasoline, cigarettes, and alcohol.

The November election set the stage for what could be the most devisive tax battle in nearly a decade. The president has now rejected additional new taxes. If congressional Republicans can regroup behind President Bush to exploit the public's desire for *lower* taxes, economic opportunity, and common sense government, 1992 will be a banner year for the Republican party.

Lessons of Campaign '90

The Ballot Measures

"I'M ENRAGED," SAID California Assembly Speaker Willie Brown, threatening suit to declare Proposition 140 unconstitutional, in the wake of voter approval of the term limitation initiative which Willie spent millions to defeat. While his fulminations were prompted by Prop. 140 specifically, his comments speak volumes about the attitude of the Sacramento political establishment — and about California's future.

Lessons of the 140 Campaign

Lewis K. Uhler

Instead of accepting the people's will, Brown and his cohorts will resist to their last breath. Why? Because they have been in the Legislature so long they feel they own the place. As his sidekick, Assemblyman John Vasconcellos (whose 24 years in office put him second only to Brown in seniority) said recently of the lower chamber, "This is my house...these are my friends..."

While predicting the outcome of court decisions is an inexact science, Prop. 140 is well positioned to withstand legal challenges. It is a *constitutional* initiative, carefully and narrowly drafted with an eye to legal challenges.

Irrespective of the outcome of the challenges to Prop. 140, the future of California was brightened by election day results generally. Those citizens who decided their vote might make a difference — and actually voted — communicated several messages with respect to the multitudinous propositions (28) confronting them, the Hollywood celebrities who invaded the airwaves, and the incumbents who sought reelection. Among the lessons learned:

- The voters didn't want to pay more taxes. The many, very costly propositions were convenient whipping boys through which taxpayers gave vent to their frustrations. The fact that the ballot summary for Prop. 140 revealed a saving of more than $70 million annually was a definite advantage.

John Vasconcellos said recently of the lower chamber, 'This is my house...these are my friends...'

- The sheer number of measures put many people off and induced them to vote "no" to "get even." That would account for the substantial margins by which measures were defeated. But the fact that *some* measures passed confirms that voters read and distinguished between the propositions.
- The voters' response to conflicting propositions, which are the subject of well-financed *confusion* campaigns, is "a pox on both your houses."

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• Campaign consultants can no longer rely on the "magic" of big-name Hollywood personalities to carry the day. Celebrities were among the big losers on election day. Angela Lansbury, whose deceptive TV ad led off the "No-on-140" campaign, paid a price for her involvement. "Distortion, She Wrote" caught on among the media statewide and allowed the "Yes-on-140" campaign to publicize the fact that Willie Brown and David Roberti were the behind-the-scenes bankrollers of the "No" campaign.

POLITICAL PUNDITS interpreted the survival of most incumbents as proof the term limitation movement does not run deep. But they neglected to report the plurality shrinkage experienced by many incumbents. Some fell as much as 15 points below their normal yields, surviving only because their historic margins of victory have become obscenely large. In the Sacramento area, for example, Reps. Vic Fazio and Robert Matsui, who breezed to victory in the past, saw dramatic declines against relatively unknown challengers. Here are their percentages from past general elections and this November:

	1984	1986	1988	1990
Fazio	61	70	99*	55
Matsui	100*	76	71	60

*unopposed

Had House seats been competitive going in, many old heads would have rolled. More equitable redistricting could change the political landscape dramatically.

One Loser to Lament: Proposition 137

by Harold Johnson

MOST OF THE ballot initiatives that were voted down on Nov. 6 deserved their fate. But not Prop. 137, which lost narrowly. Prop. 137 would have required voter approval for any changes in the statewide initiative process or in state laws governing local initiatives.

Liberal interest groups and legislative leaders want to neutralize the initiative process. No sooner was the election over than the liberal establishment's chief journalistic organ, the *Los Angeles Times*, was calling for just such an assault. Among proposals floating around the Capitol is one to require that initiatives get legislative approval to appear on the ballot — a perfect recipe for protecting the politicians from the people.

Harold Johnson is an editorial writer for the Orange County Register.

Foes of 137 included several public-employee unions and other interest groups noted for their lust for tax money. No surprise there: such groups are understandably uncomfortable with the way initiatives are used to second-guess the Sacramento deal-makers.

Without the initiative, for instance, Californians couldn't have sparked the tax revolt with Prop. 13, or overturned much of Rose Bird's lunacy through Prop. 115 last June. And now, with Prop. 140, we've imposed limits on legislators' terms. Does anyone think 140 would have made the ballot if it had needed the Legislature's OK?

With the defeat of Prop. 137, we must hope Pete Wilson stands firm against attempts by the Legislature to "reform" the initiative into impotence. CPR

California Voters and the Pirie Dynamic

BACK IN THE 1970s my friend Madsen Pirie, then teaching at Michigan's Hillsdale College, now head of the Thatcherite Adam Smith Institute in London (in which capacity he's lately been advising Eastern Europeans on how to become capitalists), started talking about how we could use something like California's initiative process to reform things in a way that protected freedoms. I was unconvinced. I believed then, as I do now, that if it's immoral for your neighbor to infringe on your rights or seize your property, then it is also immoral for 51 percent of the voters to perform such incivilities, however legitimated by the ballot box.

K. E. Grubbs Jr.

K. E. Grubbs Jr. is editorial and commentary director of the Orange County Register.

Then, along came Howard Jarvis and Paul Gann. Voters started limiting political government's ability to eat out our substance, and they did so *so* overwhelmingly that the now 12-year-old Tax Revolt is to this day being felt around the world. That's no exaggeration. Jarvis and Gann cleared a path for: Ronald Reagan's presidency, the supply-side revolution, the win-

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ning of the economic competition with what was once the East Bloc, the mimickry in East Asia and even Latin America, Scandinavia, and Africa. Just a few weeks ago I sat in his Mexico City residence listening to President Carlos Salinas extol deregulation and tax-cutting. Clearly, I owe Madsen a drink. At least.

AND SO SOME cautionary observations: Congress and President Bush appear bent on repealing the Pirie Dynamic (and this is the only place you'll ever see that label), thereby returning our economy to 1970s-like stagnation and forfeiting the once-within-reach Republican majority. A serious recession here, moreover, could kill the Salinas Revolution to the south, with consequences for liberty in this hemisphere. In California, recessions having a way of churning up demagogy, the Nader-Hayden-Rosenfield Left could push through some Luddite initiatives again, more ballot propositions seeking to abolish the laws of economics. Remember, the same voters who gave us the Jeffersonian Prop. 13 handed us the near-Leninist Prop. 103.

EVEN SO, IT turns out, for all the public agonizing over the length and tedium of the ballot, the 1990 election showed California voters to be remarkably, nay astonishingly, discriminating and savvy. Remembering Chicken Little, they thunderously rejected the Hayden-Hollywood exercise in Lysenkoism, Prop. 128. They clearly saw the difference between the good term limitation proposal and the bad one, the one that tried to sneak in taxpayer financing of campaigns. They understood, finally, that all those apple-pie bond issues would have to be paid for eventually. The Other Side is in one hellaceous funk.

Did you notice how they — Willie Brown, the permanent government, the lobby lobby — said Prop. 140 would deny the people the right to make political choices, choices that haven't made much difference recently? Funny enough, on Nov. 7 they started talking about how the initiative process would have to be reformed. Sure I'll continue to grouse about democratic majoritarianism, participating thereby in a grand American tradition, but these guys mean to demolish democratic principles any way they can.

SO LET'S STRATEGIZE. Let's revive the Pirie Dynamic and focus creatively on the initiative process. Let's do some winnable things (for starters, we can stop running Libertarian Party candidates for heaven's sake) like: an initiative to reinforce the U.S. Constitution's takings clause or one to restore life to the constitutional concept of not impairing contracts; an initiative that, despite the Oregon failure, returns choice to schooling; an initiative to encourage free-market environmentalism, perhaps using the successful earthquake preparedness measure as an example.

Then the question will be: Is it moral for a majority to vote for, as if it had the right to grant, human liberty? I can live with that.

The Election and Business

WHILE ANALYSTS DETERMINE the *whys* of November's election, California business is looking at the *results* and their probable impact on declining business and economic climates. Here are initial impressions from one California employer.

Though the public is said to be sick of politicians, voters reelected their *own* representatives in

Thomas C. Ellick

most cases so we can expect business as usual — actions that hurt business — when the Legislature returns. But thanks to Prop. 140, the clock is running on the *time* legislators hold office which should mean the current flood of anti-business legislation will not last forever. Also, Pete Wilson is far more likely to veto anti-business laws than Dianne Feinstein *and* more likely to veto a new gerrymander.

Regrettably, California may be in for at least four more years of friction — downright hostility in

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California in the '90s

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many cases — between the Legislature and the governor. Wilson is more pragmatic than George Deukmejian, but many legislators feel he committed an unpardonable crime by favoring term limits. This could affect his ability to stem the flood of business-crippling overkill legislation including, prominently, environmental law, an area that will require every ounce of Wilson's skill and will remain a high priority for business.

The decisive defeat of Prop. 128 — which would have devastated large blocs of the state's economy — is a tribute to the voters and to California business leaders who had the courage to oppose an environmental initiative that apparently began with 70 percent voter support.

BUT KILLING 128 does not kill legitimate environmental concerns. It did too much at too much cost. The sheer weight, number, complexity, and cost of the 28 ballot measures probably got it many "no" votes that really were votes against the initiative process. Business cannot count on this happening again.

We must now take the lead in practical programs for resolving environmental problems, not only reducing and eliminating waste streams and converting to non-polluting processes in our own companies, but also in cooperation with friends and competitors at home and abroad.

It is essential that California business not misread the will of the people. The leadership and most members of the Legislature did so and were rewarded with Prop. 140. California's economic future depends on business avoiding that mistake.

Let's Hear It For Representative Government

Aaron Wildavsky

I NEVER IMAGINED until recently that it would be necessary for me in these United States of America to argue in favor of representative government. Yet the coincidence of over-reliance on constitutional referenda in California with approval of limits on the terms legislators can serve shows that we-the-people have lost our political moorings.

Both the politicians and the people are to blame. Faced with difficult choices, it is all too easy to pass the buck by paying petition-gatherers to put the matter to a vote of the people who will then have nobody to blame but themselves for the havoc they have wrought. Those who know that their ideas would never pass muster in deliberative discussion now have the option of asking the voters to decide poorly-posed questions.

We-the-voters are by no means innocent bystanders. Democracy depends on our exercising our intelligence. No form of government is tamper-proof by its own citizens. An electorate that would vote itself a substantial decrease in automobile insurance reveals a woeful misunderstanding of the market economy. Why not vote to reduce the price of tomatoes?

Term limits are unnecessary, in a manner of speaking, because we've already undermined our Legislature. Wasn't it a wonderful idea to guarantee elementary education a fixed portion of the budget? And clever to require another portion for welfare? Wasn't it superbly smart to put all sorts of other expenditures into the Constitution so there is so little resource allocation left for our Legislature to do?

WE DID SHOW good sense in rejecting, 2-to-1, Prop. 128, known as Big Green. No doubt the green pallor was chosen to show us what we would look like when we realized that the provisions on pesticides would make us not only poorer but also sicker, all in the name of health.

WHY SICKER? Imposing huge costs on agriculture would raise the price of food thereby preventing more citizens from eating a more adequate and more balanced diet. A lower standard of living means a lower level of health and safety. Why, we should ask ourselves, did anyone feel it worthwhile to try out a ridiculous proposal to get rid of a nonexistent evil (most food has no pesticide residues and those that do exist are so small in comparison to what nature does that in all likelihood their health effects are zero)?

Two things need to be done: representative government has to be re-established so politicians are free to do the job that they can do better than the citizenry — make the laws and allocate resources — and citizens need to exercise their influence to do the things (like voting better people and propositions in and worse politicians and awful propositions out) that only they can do.

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REFLECTIONS ON CALIFORNIA IN THE '90s

Part Two
Policy & Culture

THE ECONOMY • POPULAR CULTURE • LAW • THE ARTS

California's Economic Outlook

Donald C. Bauder

IN JUNE, WHEN California voters enthusiastically supported higher gasoline taxes and environmental and mass transit spending, pundits declared the tax revolt — which had started in California in 1978 — dead.

In November, when those same voters overwhelmingly thumbed down environmental and transit spend/tax measures, pundits declared environmentalism and mass transit dead.

In all probability, the pundits were wrong on both counts. In June, voters (consumers) believed the economy was headed for a soft landing (low inflation without recession). In November, they knew otherwise. The economy is in recession, it may be a deep one, and California won't duck it. The deep-in-debt voter/consumers, frightened by the Middle East quagmire and facing federal (and some state and local) tax increases, have closed their pocketbooks.

Since consumer spending is two-thirds of the economy, the people, so to speak, have spoken. Optimistic economists (the majority) look for a mild contraction lasting six to nine months. Economists who focus on the economy's balance sheet (the devastated financial sector) look for a longer, deeper downturn — in fact, fear that the nation may spend much of the '90s paying penance for the debt/speculation excesses of the '80s.

If the pessimists are right, conservative economics will be ripe for introspection. For the major macroeconomic questions of the 1990s may well be: Did conservatives, embracing supply side economic initiatives, put too much stress on tax policy — contributing to public and private overbuilding and overleveraging? Were five decades of the liberals' spend and tax insanity merely replaced by one decade of the conservatives' spend and borrow impercipience? Did economic conservatism abandon *personal* conservatism, or old-fashioned caution and prudence?

If this self-examination takes place, Californians (former Pres-

(Please turn to page 31)

Donald C. Bauder is Financial Editor of the San Diego Union.

Standards: Now Enemy Number One

IN HIS BOOK *Intellectuals*, historian Paul Johnson joined the late true believer critic Eric Hoffer and others in pointing to one of the great ironies of intellectual and cultural history: that those whose profession is using and training the mind often are among the most dogmatic and potentially tyrannical people around. Nowhere are the herd instincts stronger than among activist intellectuals in academe, the media, politics, and beyond when they are on the trail of a "politically correct" (PC) cause. Recent examples have ranged from academic cave-ins at many universities to alleged attacks on the free expression of "artists" Robert Mapplethorpe, Andres Serrano, and 2 Live Crew.

Popular Culture

William Ratliff

This is the Closing of the American Mind, in Allan Bloom's phrase: the abandonment of vigorous, rational defense of distinctions between the serious and trivial or nonsensical in thought and standards. To try to judge "quality" is often considered elitist, racist, sexist, cultural bigotry.

Stanford University led one recent charge downhill when it replaced a Western culture program with a *very* PC one called "Cultures, Ideas, and Values," emphasizing books by "women,

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Coming Out of the Ice

The Law

Michael Rushford

THE PASSAGE OF Prop. 140 will benefit the criminal justice system. Politicians who have controlled the state Legislature the past 20 years have not shared the public's desire for swift and effective justice. With more than *70 percent* of Californians supporting capital punishment, one of its leading opponents, Willie Brown, has ruled the State Assembly since 1980. Removing this man from power may bring the most improvement to the Legislature. But, because the term limits permit most incumbents to remain in office for another six years, the real effect of Prop. 140 will not be felt until the end of the decade.

Crime and justice have been major political issues since the early 1970s. California voters have adopted two death penalty initiatives since 1972 and authorized more than $4 billion in prison bonds since 1980. In 1982 the voters passed a sweeping criminal justice refom initiative called the "Victims' Bill of Rights." In 1986 they took the unprecedented step of rejecting three liberal Supreme Court justices who dragged their feet in enforcing the death penalty. This year another sweeping criminal justice initiative, the "Crime Victims' Justice Reform Act" (Prop. 115), was adopted. And in every election since the demise of Jerry Brown, candidates have invested considerable time and money to portray themselves as tougher on crime than their opponents.

So why is California still suffering such high levels of crime? The simple answer is that too little time has passed. When the "Victims' Bill of Rights" passed in 1982, Gov. Brown had been packing California's courts with liberal judges for eight years.

SINCE THEN, THE public has replaced many of the worst of Brown's appointees to the trial courts through contested elections. When vacancies have occurred between elections, Deukmejian has filled them with prosecutors. Deukmejian has also replaced retiring appellate court judges with prosecutors. California is probably approaching parity between liberals, conservatives, and moderates serving in these powerful judgeships.

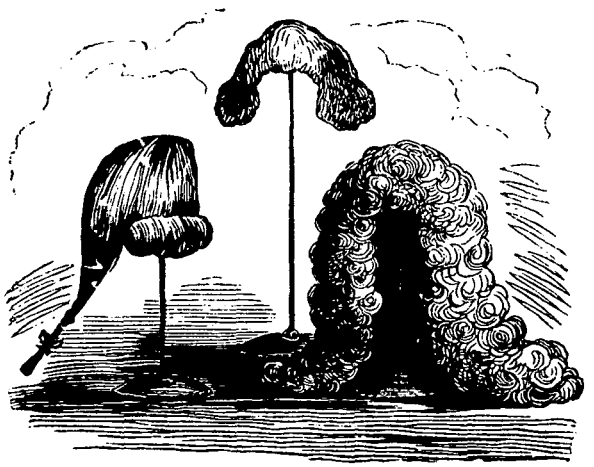
Until 1986, the Bird Court ruled the judicial system. In the ensuing four years, the Deukmejian-appointed majority has resolved most of the Bird Court's "problems" with enforcement of provisions of the "Victims' Bill of Rights" and the death penalty.

WE ALSO SHOULD remember that, while legislators have boasted about their great accomplishments to fight crime, little meaningful law has been enacted. Leo McCarthy's Prop. 133 is a good example of the liberal's approach. A weak attempt to eliminate "work time" sentence reduction (which makes most criminals eligible for parole after serving only half their prison sentence), it was rejected by the voters because it was coupled with almost $8 billion in new taxes. The Legislature created "work time" in 1982 and could have passed a simple bill to eliminate this deceptive and unjustified sentence reduction any time during the past eight years. But Willie Brown and his majority weren't interested in doing so.

Several factors have come together this year that favor a strong and effective approach to crime in the nineties. Last June's Prop. 115 will speed up criminal trials dramatically and the removal of legal technicalities and enactment of longer sentences for habitual criminals provided by the earlier "Victims' Bill of Rights" have been working well. The Supreme Court shares the sentiment of its people about crime and the courts of appeal will move closer to this ideal as Gov. Wilson appoints his judges. And as term limits change the Legislature's membership, we may find an effective criminal justice system can be maintained with general tax revenues.

The glue that holds this picture

Michael Rushford is president of the Criminal Justice Legal Foundation.



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together is the public will. If the electorate does not continue to insist on tough criminal justice policy both at home and in Sacramento, today's reforms may be quietly chipped away. There is also much work left to be done. To win the war on drugs, a hard look must be taken at the way California deals with its juvenile offenders. And while swift justice and punishment are essential to controlling crime, how we raise and educate our children is of equal importance.

EACH YEAR CALIFORNIA spends more tax dollars to prepare children for the real world. Yet illiteracy, high school dropouts, teen-aged pregnancy, venereal disease, and youth unemployment are at all-time highs.

A recent study shows that nearly one-third of California's black males are in some sort of trouble with the law. A liberal commentator suggested that tough on crime policies offering the illusion of public safety are forcing the "write off" of an entire generation of black men.

The truth is that after four decades of welfare checks for people who won't work, lowered educational standards, de-emphasized vocational training, elimination of discipline, and the breakdown of family and community values, the leading cause of death for young black males is homicide. Advocates of these failed approaches share the blame for this generation of ignorant, irresponsible, violent, amoral lawbreakers. More money isn't needed, new priorities are.

How we meet these challenges will decide whether or not we make our cities, schools, and neighborhoods safe in the '90s.

Curing Local Budget Woes

The Cities

Robert W. Poole Jr.

BEGINNING IN THE 1970s, local governments began privatizing the services they provide, in part because of the "tax revolt." Fiscal pressure has been the single most important reason for local sector privatization in the United States.

As a broad generalization, it's safe to say that privatization provides better service at lower cost. Why is this the case? The most basic reason is *incentives* — the vast difference in incentives between a private firm and the typical government agency that produces services on a monopoly basis, with guaranteed access to the taxpayers' money, and no chance of any sort of competition. If we shift garbage collection, for example, from that kind of environment to an environment of competitive contracting or of open competition, we are substituting very different incentives. Private firms must compete against others, either to win a contract or franchise from the city or to win the business of individual customers.

THAT KIND OF survival incentive forces the private firm to rethink how it combines people and equipment and procedures to deliver services in a cost-effective manner. It is extremely difficult to provide similar incentives in the public sector, given civil service protection, tax funding, and a monopoly on customers.

This is the main theoretical reason privatization should be cost-effective, but what about the evidence? A landmark study in the early 1980s, focused on Southern California, looking in detail at eight services.

THE RESEARCHERS SELECTED 10 cities that produced the service in-house with city employees and funded by taxes and 10 that contracted with private firms on a competitive basis. They found public sector services more costly by the following percentages:

Garbage collection	28 to 42%
Street-tree maintenance	37%
Street cleaning	43%
Lawn maintenance	43%
Traffic signal maintenance	56%
Building cleaning	73%
Asphalt paving	96%

Only personnel costs were approximately the same whether done in-house or contracted out.

The researchers found that the private sector had a higher ratio of staff to supervisors and made greater use of part-time labor. Although there were some differences in pay scales they were not large, but public-sector fringe benefits were significantly more generous. Much greater absenteeism occurred in the public sector — more formal holidays and unexcused absences. These differences are what the theory would predict due to the different incentive structures.

This and other studies show that cities can provide good services and save money through privatization.

Robert W. Poole Jr. is president of the Reason Foundation.

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Why TV Won't Get Better in The 1990s

The Hollywood Hammerlock

John Ridge

PICTURE THIS: A mini-series taken directly from front page headlines, plum parts for Hollywood's most nimble actors, graft in the highest corridors of national power, and a built-in "true life" hook. Multiple Emmy nominations to make the careers of ambitious studio *apparatchiks*. Here's the pitch: The most powerful man in the U. S. Congress (third in succession to the presidency) is nailed in a nasty ethics scandal and thrown from office. A surefire sweeps ratings monster, right? Don't bet on it. "The Jim Wright Story" is not being made. The Hollywood Hammerlock prevents it.

Okay, picture this: One of the most powerful congressmen on Capitol Hill is caught in a sex scandal, the kind that makes tabloid editors howl with happiness. Get this: The congressman's lover is running a brothel right under his nose out of his own house!

WOW! WHAT MORE could any producer want! Power, sex, blackmail, human weakness in exalted officials. The agencies must be in a bidding frenzy to sell "The Barney Frank Story," right? Not on this planet. The Hollywood Hammerlock prevents it.

John Ridge is the nom de guerre *of a television writer. He is a current member of three Hollywood trade unions.*

Hooray for Hollywood

What's going on here? Censorship? (The terrifying "C" word Hollywood loves to wheeze about?) You bet. Only it's censorship from the left, henceforth referred to as The Hollywood Hammerlock, the understanding among producers, agents, and writers that no programs will be made that expose the ugly underbelly of the American Liberal Establishment.

The Hollywood trade unions (the Writers Guild, the Directors Guild, the Screen Actors Guild, AFTRA, IATSE, and the Teamsters) all operate under federal law to perpetuate forced unionization. Either you join and obey union rules, or you don't work in Hollywood. The trade unions control the content of what every American sees on television every night under a federal law that gives them monopoly rights to represent employees in contract negotiations. Individual contracting is outlawed.

Did you know, for example, that every freelance television writer in Hollywood with a bright idea for a story must pitch that idea to a producer-writer who is also a member of the same union, the Writers Guild of America? This could violate federal labor laws that require all "workers for hire" to be supervised by management, not members of their own union. That's to avoid the obvious conflict of interest arising when unions develop management-to-worker re-

(See "Hammerlock" on facing page)

The Repudiation Of The Hollywood Left

Paper Tigers

Joseph Farah

THE AMERICAN PEOPLE sent some mixed and confusing signals at the polls last week. But about one thing they spoke clearly and unambiguously. Celebrity political activists, their ability to raise millions of campaign dollars and generate immeasurable publicity notwithstanding, were roundly thrashed in their key targeted races.

The two big prizes for the Hollywood Left were supposed to be the defeat of Sen. Jesse Helms of North Carolina and the passage of the most sweeping environmental protection bill in the history of the nation — Big Green. The convincing re-election of Helms and the surprising 2-to-1 defeat of Prop. 128 show that celebrity activists are really paper tigers.

More than any other candidate seeking office Nov. 6, Helms raised hackles among what Rush Limbaugh aptly describes as "the arts and *croissant* crowd" for his attacks on mismanagement and scandal at the National Endowment for the Arts. Everybody who was anybody in celebrity political circles raised money for his challenger Harvey Gantt or made personal appearances on his behalf. By focusing so much attention on one race and losing,

(See "Hollywood Left" on facing page)

Joseph Farah is editor of the Sacramento Union.

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Hammerlock

(Continued from previous page)
lationships with their own members. Those members' interests can, and do, cease to be the unions' interests. Those members, indeed, then find their own unions hold them in a hammerlock.

DID YOU KNOW, for example, that every assistant director who applies for a job on any major Hollywood production is hired by a director or a production manager, both members of his own union, the Directors Guild of America? This too could violate federal law because it forces "workers for hire" to conform to the political bias of members of their union who, as their "bosses," hold the power to hire or fire them, and even to bar them from any job in the industry. This "silent policing" is immoral, insidious, and completely concealed from the public. Who benefits from it? Union heads and the politicians they support in Sacramento and Washington.

The Hollywood Hammerlock works flawlessly. No freelance writer or assistant director will take a position that contradicts the official policies of his union.

ALSO, MANY ACTORS refuse roles in any way detrimental to the unions. Many agents won't submit their clients for parts that contradict union policies. Many drivers and craftsmen (members of the Teamsters and IATSE) will not work on projects that do not uphold union orthodoxy.

Next time you watch television, try to identify the Trade Unionist "Monomyth." Here's the code: Public employees are virtuous. Businessmen are villainous. Motives are more important that actions. Public people have good intentions. Private people have bad intentions. If Jim Wright and Barney Frank screwed up, it's okay because their motives were good. But Jim Bakker and Michael Milken are not okay, because, you see, their motives were bad. Defenders of free enterprise are victims of "false consciousness" and must be re-educated. If they will not be re-educated, shun them.

Public employees are virtuous. Businessmen are villainous. Public people have good intentions. Private people have bad intentions.

When did you last see a portrayal of a corrupt trade unionist on television? When did you last see a public employee (especially an NEA teacher) characterized negatively? Or an entrepreneur lionized? Or a financier *not* portrayed as a thief.

Pity the poor freelance writer who enters the entertainment industry honestly and tries to pitch a pro-liberty story to his producer-writer supervisors who control the Writers Guild. Pity the poor actor, director, set designer, and driver who says anything against the Hollywood Hammerlock. Pity your children who watch this burlesque on your TV six hours every day.

The Hollywood Left

(Continued from previous page)
the limousine liberals severely diminished their clout.

But an even greater blow to their credibility was the overwhelming rejection of Prop. 128, which was funding mainly by the entertainment industry. Tom Hayden not only wrote the proposition but contributed nearly one million bucks to the campaign. Not surprisingly, the proposition became known as "the Hayden Initiative," and that may have spelled its doom.

Deceptive commercials by actor Michael Landon, tens of thousands of dollars from Chevy Chase, and free spots on MTV weren't enough to carry the day.

BIG GREEN BEGAN with nearly 75 percent approval rating and ended up losing 2 to 1. Perhaps ordinary people are tired of hearing spoiled, rich celebrities tell them how to live. "Had the Hollywood left succeeded at the polls this time, there would have been no stopping them," said Limbaugh. "But they lost every race in which they got involved." Good news. CPR

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Forum

HIV: Guilty as Charged?

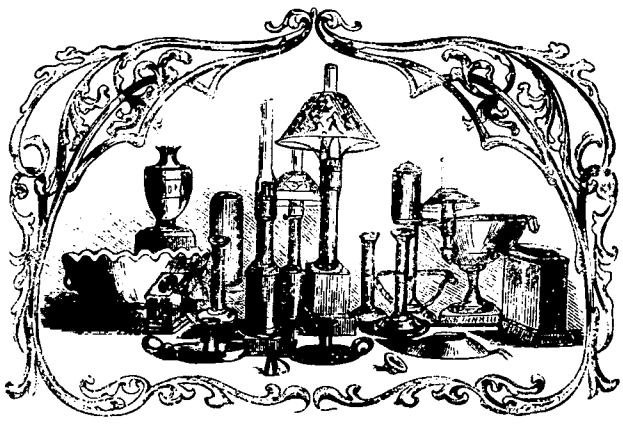
What really causes AIDS? The conventional answer to that question is deeply flawed says Peter H. Duesberg, who offers a controversial alternative explanation. Dr. Duesberg is professor of molecular and cell biology at the University of California, Berkeley, and a member of the National Academy of Sciences. He was a pioneer in cancer-gene research and the first to map the genetic structure of retroviruses. His critiques of the virus-AIDS hypothesis have been published in several scientific journals, including Cancer Research *and* Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences.

California Political Review: *The popular notion of AIDS is that it is a massive breakdown of the immune system, caused by a virus, that then allows diseases to attack an essentially helpless body. Is that what does, in fact, occur with AIDS? How do* you *define AIDS?*

Duesberg: I don't come with my own definition of AIDS. I accept the prevailing definition. I just say that it's inconsistent. AIDS is defined as a collection of 25 diseases that are all said to be the consequence of immune deficiency and "immune deficiency," in turn, is said to be the work of the AIDS virus — Human Immunodeficiency Virus, or HIV.

CPR: *If the cause is immune deficiency, why are there only 25 diseases?*

Duesberg: That's a good question. You could even start a little earlier. How could some of the 25 diseases result from immune deficiency? Kaposi's sarcoma and lymphoma — two of the 25 diseases — are cancers. Another of the 25, dementia, is neither an infectious disease nor a cancer. Such non-infectious diseases do not result from immune deficiency.



CPR: *Are you saying the conception that AIDS begins with a collapse of the immune system is wrong, that such a collapse does not necessarily take place?*

Duesberg: Yes. Many AIDS cases have been reported in which people had lymphoma, dementia or Kaposi's sarcoma, but not the opportunistic infections that indicate a defective immune system. If you have a defective immune system you are likely to get diseases like candidiasis (a yeast infection) or pneumonia. Those are typical consequences of an immune deficiency.

CPR: *What is it, then, about these diseases that caused them to be grouped together under the title AIDS?*

Duesberg: By now, there is actually only one thing: they are all called AIDS when HIV is present. It is assumed the AIDS diseases are all due to an immune deficiency and it is again assumed that HIV is the cause of that deficiency.

CPR: *What does HIV do?*

Duesberg: It does virtually nothing. It is a retrovirus that can infect you but then, typically, is latent. It is not pathogenic — disease-causing — as far as we can tell.

CPR: *How could something that does not do anything become identified as the number one cause of AIDS?*

Duesberg: That is a heavy question because some people have a great deal at stake in that explanation for AIDS. You may have heard about the war on cancer of the Nixon days. We were going to solve cancer and retroviruses were considered strong candidates as possible causes of cancer. A retrovirus is a genetic parasite of the cell. It doesn't kill the cell, it becomes part of it. That is why retroviruses for a long time, and even now, were considered ideal potential cancer viruses. A virus that kills a cell is not a potential carcinogen.

This is one of the reasons the HIV hypothesis became so popular so fast. These AIDS retrovirologists — a group to which I and many others belong, people like Robert Gallo, David Baltimore, Howard Temin, and Robin Weiss — had claimed for years that retrovi-

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ruses would be found to cause cancer but they never proved it. A scientist wants to do something clinically relevant, to be like Louis Pasteur or Jonas Salk. You want to be in the textbooks 20 years from now as the man who found the virus that causes AIDS, not just a biologist who studied viruses with no clinical relevance. But we've had no clinically relevant viral frontier since the 1950s when the Salk/Sabine vaccine solved the polio epidemic. We had no more significant viral diseases left. We had diagnosed most of them, and they were pretty much under control. We also have better equipped and more virologists now than ever before but we don't have a clinical frontier — there is nothing for them to fight. So, they come up with phantom viruses and phantom frontiers, such as AIDS.

We have a virus that is not a killing virus, most of the cells that are assumed to be killed by it are not even infected by it, and in those few that are *infected by the virus, it is latent*

CPR: *Does your critique of HIV as the cause of AIDS go beyond the problem of non-viral diseases among the 25 AIDS indicators?*

Duesberg: The hypothesis that HIV causes AIDS presents a number of problems. If it is true, the situation would be unprecedented in biology or in microbiology. The most prominent problem, perhaps, is that all viruses and microbes that cause disease are very active and very numerous. You suffer from influenza when influenza virus affects 30 or 40 or 50 percent of the cells in your lungs. You have hepatitis when hepatitis virus claims half of your liver. If the virus is in only one out of 100 cells in your lungs or kidney or liver, you won't notice it. The minor infections that claim one percent or less of cells are called asymptomatic infections — the majority of infections in nature.

HIV is the only virus I have ever heard of that is said to cause a fatal disease while it is present in only one out of 500 lymphocytes or T-cells — the critical cell of the immune system that is lost during AIDS — and in those it is not even active, it is dormant. There is no precedent for a latent virus causing fatal disease.

On top of that — another paradox — even *if* it were active, it would not kill cells because it is a retrovirus. So we have a virus that is not a killing virus, most of the cells that are assumed to be killed by it are not even infected by it, and in those few that *are* infected by the virus, it is latent — not doing anything.

CPR: *An article you wrote with Bryan J. Ellison, published recently in* Policy Review, *made this case and brought a thunderous response — "more letters to the editor than any [article] in* Policy Review*'s history," the editors wrote. Dr. Cesar A. Caceres's letter states: "The average patient, for example, has HIV disease for 10 to 15 years. At each cross-section of time, as Duesberg and Ellison highlight, only a small percentage of T-cells are found to be infected. But, these few cells appear to die earlier than expected, so over time, gradually fewer total cells are left. However, a few of those have received as their legacy HIV infection to slowly continue the T-cell-depleting effects of the disease. The fact that only a few T-cells are affected at any one time does not change the fact that ultimately, left untreated, HIV destroys the immune system." He seems to be saying that humans possess a fixed number of T-cells and although it takes a long time, if you give the virus long enough, it will eventually affect enough cells to destroy the immune system. Is that correct?*

Duesberg: It is, *if* you ignore one key point in the equation, namely, that T-cells are being regenerated every day. The human body, every month, replaces 50 percent of its blood cells with new ones; some types of cells are probably replaced twice every month. If the virus killed more cells than the host could regenerate, you would get sick — with pneumonia or leukemia or immune deficiency or whatever. But HIV never infects as many cells as the body normally regenerates.

CPR: *If there is no HIV-caused collapse of the immune system, what is AIDS? Are you saying that it isn't a syndrome at all, but only a list of separate diseases?*

Duesberg: I accept the statistics that we are seeing these 25 diseases more now in 20- to 40-year-old males than ever before, or at least more than at any time in the last 40 or 50 years. That is traditionally the healthiest group in the population with regard to all sorts of diseases.

CPR: *So how do you account for the anomoly? If HIV has not caused this sudden rise of particular diseases in a particular demographic group, what is the cause?*

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Duesberg: Most diseases do not affect the healthiest group in the population. I say this because I offer an alternative cause of AIDS, namely that the majority of AIDS sufferers are consumers of psycho-active drugs, which are the only new source of pathogens to appear in our country in the last 15 or 20 years: the increasing amounts of cocaine, heroin, poppers, amphetamines, angel dust, pot, cigarettes, alcohol, valium, and, above all, AZT, a cell-killing terminator of DNA synthesis prescribed to inhibit HIV. Those who use these substances are the group getting AIDS.

The Centers for Disease Control report that 30 percent of AIDS cases in this country are *confirmed* intravenous drug users — 40,000 of the 120,000 AIDS patients. And intravenous drug use is illegal and not easy to confirm, so that is probably an understatement. You can certainly assume that for every intravenous drug user there are probably 10 oral drug users because most people stay away from intravenous drugs. They take cocaine once in a weekend or poppers or amphetamines and inhale it or drink it, but they don't shoot it up. Homosexuals, particularly, use oral drugs like poppers — nitrite inhalants — as aphrodisiacs. That is why homosexuals almost exclusively have Kaposi's sarcoma, a cancer caused by inhaling these nitrites.

***CPR:** How does drug abuse lead to the diseases associated with AIDS?*

Duesberg: It is hardly studied; I can only speculate to some degree. Nitrites, for example, react with all sorts of molecules — with DNA, with RNA, with protein, and they directly oxidize hemoglobin. Some homosexuals are delivered to hospital emergency rooms with most of their hemoglobin oxidized, which makes it impossible for the hemoglobin to take in oxygen. They turn blue like victims of cyanide poisoning. It also affects the immune system according to animal experiments and can be directly carcinogenic.

Now, many drug users find they can no longer pay the rent; they go live in the streets where they don't take showers anymore and suffer from protein and vitamin malnutrition, as well as lack of sleep, another consequence of "coke" usage. Traditionally, worldwide, the leading causes of immune deficiencies are lack of proteins and vitamins and lack of sleep.

***CPR:** But you said AIDS was not a collapse of the immune system, correct?*

Duesberg: I'm not saying AIDS *never* involves immune deficiency. It is present in some AIDS diseases. A junkie usually ends up with pneumonia or kidney or liver diseases due to immune deficiencies which result from protein malnutrition, lack of sleep, and parasitic infections. On top of that, homosexuals who have many sexual contacts take a lot of prophylactic antibiotics which are also immune suppressive.

***CPR:** Your explanation tying AIDS primarily to drugs contradicts the popular idea that AIDS is associated with certain homosexual activities and advocates so-called "safe sex" to avoid AIDS. Are you saying that is irrelevant to the real problem?*

Duesberg: I always have to be careful about "safe sex" because people say I am advising against "safe sex" and being irresponsible. But let's be scientific about this. I don't know of any evidence that "safe sex" has prevented AIDS or slowed the spread of AIDS.

***CPR:** Are you saying that homosexual activity has nothing to do with AIDS, except for related behavior like inhaling poppers?*

Duesberg: Yes. The chemicals used to make it possible to have 100 or 500 dates per year are the problem. Homosexual activities are as old as human life and that's millions of years old. I don't think they have become any more dangerous.

***CPR:** Your* Policy Review *article mentions cell damage caused by anal sex.*

Duesberg: Yes. It's mentioned, but I am not convinced that that causes disease. I don't want to exclude it because I can't cite evidence against it. I can only say I don't see it as all that dangerous. After all, it is probably as old as sex and has not caused AIDS in the past.

***CPR:** Doesn't it damage tissues and allow other diseases to enter the body more easily?*

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Duesberg: Then you get rectal gonorrhea or syphilis but that's not AIDS. It's ironic, but conventional venereal diseases are *not* considered part of the group of 25 diseases called AIDS when HIV is present. Herpes is part of the AIDS diagnosis, but not the others.

***CPR:** So, are drugs* alone *causing the rise of the AIDS diseases?*

Duesberg: That's the primary cause, but the unusual definition of this syndrome (diseases in the presence of antibodies to HIV) allows all sorts of conditions to be classified as AIDS cases. For example, if a hemophiliac, subject to many transfusions that wear down the immune system and also cause diseases in themselves because they often transmit infectious agents, is found to be HIV antibody positive, that is called AIDS.

If you are a recipient of a transfusion, the underlying condition that necessitated that transfusion is called AIDS when you happen to get antibodies to the virus with that transfusion. For example, Paul Gann had a transfusion for some kind of surgery and then five years later when he died from pneumonia it was called AIDS because he was antibody positive owing to the transfusion five years earlier. But in order to *know* that HIV was responsible in this case, we would need a control study: 200 men, 100 who contracted HIV after an operation and then, five years later, contracted pneumonia, *and* 100 who did *not* get HIV when they had an operation and also did *not* get pneumonia five years later. *Then* we could say HIV had a role; otherwise it's only anecdotal and scientifically worthless.

I might add that all the prognoses of those who say this is an infectious disease have been wrong. They predicted it would explode into the heterosexual community, which has not happened, but it *should* have happened if it were an infectious disease.

***CPR:** On that subject, Michael Fumento wrote a book called* The Myth of Heterosexual AIDS. *Even so, Fumento does not agree with your critique of the HIV hypothesis. Why is that?*

Duesberg: I have a hard time accepting that. Here is a man who takes one logical step. He says what everybody sees: that the emperor has no clothes — that there is no heterosexual AIDS. But then he tries to maintain that this is a viral disease. How can you reconcile those two things? If it is a sexually-transmitted viral disease, everyone who reacts intuitively or instinctively and says I don't want to go into a barbershop where a homosexual works or a restaurant where they serve food is asking totally correct questions.

This virus *supposedly* makes a living as a sexually-transmitted agent but it depends on 500 sexual contacts

The majority of AIDS sufferers are consumers of psycho-active drugs, which are the only new source of pathogens to appear in our country in the last 15 or 20 years.

to be transmitted and can't be transmitted by casual contact. Forget it. It will never survive. You can contract sexually-transmitted microbes like syphilis or gonorrhea from a one-night stand, and the microbe in that way has achieved its biological mission, namely to move from one host to the next and thus survive as a microbe. If it took 500 sexual contacts, you would never have heard of syphilis.

***CPR:** In his letter to* Policy Review *about your article, Fumento asked if you would be willing to be injected with HIV to prove your point. What was your answer?*

Duesberg: I said I — *and* my co-author, Bryan Ellison — will have ourselves publicly injected with HIV if he provides us sufficient national publicity, if he would be convinced by our action, and if he will thereafter help us bring exposure to our viewpoint. We'd also want to see him 10 years later and say: look what happened.

***CPR:** Have you heard from Mr. Fumento?*

Duesberg: No.

***CPR:** How have homosexuals responded to you?*

Duesberg: They don't want to hear that AIDS may not be caused by a virus. A viral disease is potentially egalitarian, one that anyone could get, Mom could get shopping at Safeway or in a public restroom. That keeps middle America fearful and willing to pay for AIDS research. If you say this is not an infectious disease, that it may have something to do with the junk people take, something to do with "lifestyle," then people might say "they did it to themselves" and they might not care anymore or give money anymore. CPR

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Criticus

Word Control

G. B. Tennyson

Political language is designed to make lies sound truthful.
— George Orwell

CONSTANT READERS will recall that my previous reflections on the official demise of the French circumflex, which may have seemed trifling, ended with the promise to consider next time some rather more nefarious goings-on with our own language, which may have seemed by contrast overwrought. But the subject and its consequences are if anything too little regarded; we ignore them at our peril. For who shapes the words and regulates expression controls rather more than was controlled by the merely mischievous or misguided (as it seems to me) 40 "Immortals" of the French Academy who dropped the luckless circumflex, for the restoration of which I sought and continue to seek your prayers and intercessions.

TO BEGIN with, think about some vogue words that have been cropping up in the academic world with depressing frequency and are now spilling out into the world at large, also known, and with good reason, as the "real world." Think about diversity, for example, or eurocentrism, marginalize, empower, chairperson, and almost every other *person* word — yea, even the unsuccessful, because so utterly ludicrous, *personhole cover* that was seriously advanced as a substitute for *manhole cover*. And then think about the increasingly frequent reports of actual or proposed restrictions on so-called "fighting words" on college campuses. Are we dealing with unrelated phenomena?

First the matter of fashionable words. Fashions come and go, in words as in dress and demeanor. Anyone who has lived even the length of one generation — normally reckoned as 25 years — has seen words and expressions come into and pass from currency. When was the last time you heard anyone say, "It's real gone," or "I'm wear-

ing new threads," or — *horribile dictu* — "Power to the People."

Yes, terms and expressions come and go. Fashion is fashion, and the language has a way of settling its own accounts. But there is a tendency on the right to let language work its subtle magic over time and to ignore what seem to be merely the frothings on the surface. In the great long sweep of history, this may be an understandable posture. But from the perspective of the present, it is unwise, and may also be unwise over the long term. Victors, after all, write the history, and victors have to win local and immediate battles as well as final ones. In the word wars, the immediate battles are running the wrong way.

This brings us back to diversity, eurocentrism, what I call *-person* words, and the like. These are either euphemisms — weasling substitutes for more forthright but less attractive words — or pure coinages for circumstances and conditions meant to be stigmatized or desexed and depoliticized or re-sexed and re-politicized as suits the coiners.

THIS DIVERSITY is a euphemism for affirmative action, which in turn was a euphemism for quotas. As with all euphemisms, it will be caught up with by public awareness sooner or later, for there appears to be an iron law in language that euphemisms eventually expose themselves even to the dullest wit. But until then it can fool all of the people some of the time, since it has a vaguely positive feel to it, almost akin to "equality," which has long had quite groundless but very real resonance for the American mind. ("A lively and diverse crowd greeted the arrival of the astronauts," would, I think, be read by the *lecteur moyen sensuel* as meaning that lots of different but all very nice people turned out, such as mothers and fathers and babes in arms, all waving the flag. Hence, the noun "diversity" would call to mind comparable variety and general well-meaningness, rather than the rigorous quota system that is really intended, by the terms of which tomorrow's *Gauleiters* will dispatch their underlings to go through the crowd counting colors and genders and such and, if need be, report back unfavorably on the absence of an appropriate number of transsexuals.) Such is the case of the euphemism. It will die, but we should not hesitate to hasten it to its grave.

G. B. Tennyson is professor of English at U.C.L.A. and co-editor of Nineteenth-Century Literature.

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Eurocentrism, by contrast, is a conscious coinage meant to describe something not previously recognized or if recognized, not thought to need a separate term. Here it means a narrow and repre-

Tomorrow's Gauleiters will dispatch their underlings to go through the crowd counting colors and genders and such and report back unfavorably on the absence of an appropriate number of transsexuals.

hensible European focus or orientation, such as the "eurocentric character" traditional western civilizaton courses are accused of having.

TO BE sure, a western civilization course treated western civilization; what else would it treat? Why then call it eurocentric? Because the *-centric* suffix stigmatizes it as narrow and biased: it is centered *only* on Europe. In the same way critics deride western civilization courses as devoted to the study of "Dead White European Males," not yet acronymed as DWEMs, but no doubt that's coming. It does not seem to occur to these neophiliacs (see my last column) that the study of virtually anything involves the study of "dead" people; and the question is really which dead people you want to study, Shakespeare or Malcolm X? What they mainly object to is that they are white, European, and male. If only there were a body of works by DBAFs or DYOFs (I leave the reader to decipher my acronyms) to substitute. And in sooth, there are some living ones we can turn to: they are writing now, lecturing now, occupying chairs now...tomorrow the world.

So who is responsible for these assaults on language, these serpentine and suilline euphemisms, these coinages you so deplore? And what can we do about it?

I wish I could expose here and now a terrible conspiracy, a vicious gang of wordsmiths sitting about in a contemporary equivalent of the Café Odèon in Zurich where Lenin conspiratorially waited out the First War until he could return by sealed coach across Germany to the Finland Station to introduce 70 and more years of horror to Mother Russia. If only there were such a conspiracy, we could send an operative to slip hemlock into the drinks of these fiends and rid us of them forever. But, alas, the "conspiracy" is far vaster than that. It includes the great bulk of what is so tellingly called across the water the chattering classes, and these folk do have a political agenda, even if it is at times only half conscious. They don't so much sit about plotting new words and phrases as they instinctively reach out for such wherever they are to be found.

OF COURSE somewhere someone first used "affirmative action," but the point is that it was quickly recognized and seized upon by many as *le mot juste* for what they wanted to say, or to conceal. Later someone else first realized that the term needed to be tarted up, and out popped "diversity." Again there was ready to hand an army of repeaters to adopt it instantly as their own and see to it that it appeared in your local newspaper and on your television news broadcast.

So what is to be done? Well, eternal vigilance is the price of honest language, as of much else, and so I offer a small contribution: beginning with the next issue I will introduce the first of what will be known as "Watched Words" — words and categories of words that are dangerous for your mental health. Words, one might say, not to live by, but to live without. Words like those I have been discussing here. Readers who spot other poisonous words are welcome to send them in, with such comments as they deem appropriate. All readers are heartily enjoined to eschew and to urge others to eschew using the wicked words to be catalogued here.

AS FOR the connection all this has with the alarming rise of academic rules on speech, well, that's a topic for next time. CPR

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BOOKS

The Right to be Crazy

Madness in the Streets: How Psychiatry and the Law Abandoned the Mentally Ill, by Rael Jean Isaac and Virginia C. Armat, Free Press, 436 pp., $24.95 cloth.

Reviewed by John Kurzweil

STRUGGLING MIGHTILY to find something good to say about his radical generation, Tom Hayden, in his memoir *Reunion*, managed the limp pronouncement that "we of the sixties accomplished more than most generations in American history." He may be right, if the word accomplish can be sufficiently separated from its normally positive connotations to include such destructiveness as is recounted in *Madness in the Streets*. Hayden may or may not want to take credit for the "accomplishment" described in this volume's subtitle — "How Psychiatry and the Law Abandoned the Mentally Ill" — but the campaign that brought it off was classic New Leftism. Borne of a decadent weariness with the moral responsibilities of freedom, it was justified in the usual way through a militant relativism that recast selfishness as compassion, failure as progress, and abandonment and, in many cases, violent death as "liberation."

THIS BOOK describes an awful affliction that, like many terrible diseases, has plagued humanity through the ages, appearing mysteriously and without warning and often yielding to no more than partial cure or to no cure at all. Again like many illnesses, the measures taken over the centuries to alleviate it often proved useless and unpleasant, sometimes so unpleasant as to be worse than the ailment. In addition, this branch of medicine seems from the start to have attracted far more than its fair share of charlatans and superstitious eccentrics passing themselves off as healers. Add to that that by the 1950s and '60s, government — which means politics — had assumed a major role in caring for the mentally ill, and it is not at all surprising that the whole enterprise of mental health study and treatment eventually found itself under attack from various quarters.

The emergent drug culture of the early '60s, Isaac and Armat show, and the more general "counterculture" atmosphere of the era provided a jumping off place for attacks on psychiatry as no more than society's reactionary way of suppressing alternative lifestyles it didn't want to understand. Sociologists argued that terms such as "schizophrenia" were merely labels used to dispose of difficult or inconvenient people, that, indeed, mental illness was really a myth and that the so-called "insane" were only people driven to seeming madness by involuntary incarceration in mental hospitals and by the bizarre treatments given them there. First the book and later the film version of *One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest* helped enormously to popularize this burgeoning critique of psychiatry.

And psychiatrists helped as well. A movement of radical ex-mental patients could point to such abuses as those attributed to Dr. John Rosen who, Isaac and Armat write, "had achieved considerable attention in psychiatric circles as a result of his claim to have found a cure for schizophrenia through 'direct analysis,' which involved assaulting the psychosis verbally." In addition to "verbal assault," Dr. Rosen's methods reportedly included forcing one patient to live for two months in a cellar without windows, furnished only with a mattress on the floor and a bucket as a toilet. Another of Rosen's patients sued the doctor "for damages in six figures, charging that he had forced her into performing oral sex, anal sex, homosexual acts, and at least 65 group sex sessions over nine years of supposed therapy."

ALONGSIDE SUCH horror stories, pro-defendent lawyers and judges further encouraged public suspicions about psychiatry by stretching the "insanity" defense for violent criminals to ridiculous lengths, an exercise in fatuity that reached its apogee in the famous "twinkee" defense offered in the 1978 case of former San Francisco Supervisor Dan White. That highly-visible justices used to take this kind of nonsense seriously, even using it to overturn convictions on occasion, certainly contributed to the popular perception of psychiatry as fraudulent.

Finally, a group of anti-psychiatry, ACLU-type lawyers discovered they could become rich and famous (and call themselves

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"progressive" in the bargain) by challenging the legality of forced hospitalization and treatment of the mentally ill. *Madness in the Streets* records how what came to be known as the "Mental Health Bar" systematically attacked first institutionalization and then the major categories of psychiatric treatment: psychosurgery, electroconvulsive therapy and, finally, psychoactive drugs. Their largely successful campaign emptied America's mental hospitals, consigning the mentally ill to the streets (and often from the streets into jail), and then deprived them of treatment as well.

ABOUT THIS point in the discussion, the left usually accuses Ronald Reagan and George Deukmejian of adding the mentally ill to the ranks of the "homeless" in California through budget cuts during their gubernatorial administrations. But that argument ignores the sequence of events: the cuts came only after the radicals' campaign was well under way to destroy the legal basis that allowed the state-run mental care system to operate.

The more fundamental criticism of the budget cuts, of course, is that they presumably show conservative moral callousness and hypocrisy in accusing others of abandoning mental patients. But this criticism fails to distinguish the diametrically opposed principles that motivate the radical anti-psychiatry movement from those of conservatives trying to reduce both the burden and the role of government.

Radicals portray the "problem," as usual, as repression by outdated institutions vainly defending a hidebound power structure, squashing whatever seems novel, different, threatening, and so forth — the standard morality play unrelated to mental illness at all, the very existence of which was denied as a starting point. The left's motivation, here as always, is its rejection of what it considers an intolerable reality and its conviction that it is immoral for people to accept and endure a world as bad as this.

In this case, the ugly reality is mental illness, a horrifying malady that offers no easy "solutions," only the daunting prospect that with great effort we might win occasional victories alongside many disappointments and often tragic failures. If leftism is anything consistent at all, it is a revolt against just such gloomy prospects in life, arguing that they are manufactured by the strong to rationalize subjugation of the weak. The cure, for the left, is always political opposition, which is why the radicals' approach to mental illness, richly detailed in *Madness in the Streets*, was all about political organizing and legal battles in courtrooms designed to dismantle the "system" while it ignored the actual problems of the mentally ill.

The radicals' approach was all about political organizing and legal battles designed to dismantle the "system" while it ignored the actual problems of the mentally ill.

REAGAN'S AND Deukmejian's motives were entirely different. Conservatives don't reject the world, they believe life is good if we make the moral choice for wisdom over foolishness, a prime example of foolishness being the left's faith in government power to do the good that is really a matter of individual responsibility.

Conservatives cut government budgets not to abandon people but to dismantle a mechanism — big government — that, as an agent for doing good, is counterproductive. Besides draining resources from private, voluntary institutions (whose emphasis on individual moral responsibility gives them the staying power to persevere against even so daunting a proposition as mental illness), government-as-solution falls prey to politics.

In one case, the New York Civil Liberties Union forced New York City to release from hospitalization one Joyce Brown, described by the city's Metropolitan Hospital as psychotic but not "dangerous." Isaac and Armat write:

"IN A DECISION that columnist George Will described as impossible to caricature, Judge Lippman ruled that Brown should be released to her steam grate. He accepted Joyce Brown's characterization of herself as 'an experienced street professional.' A former legal aid attorney, Lippman, like her [Brown's] NYCLU attorneys, seemed to regard Brown as an abstraction through which to make political points. According to Lippman: 'Society, not Brown, was sick: the blame and shame must attach to us.' He offered his hope that 'the sight of her may improve us. By being an offense to aesthetic senses, she may spur the community to action.' Joyce's sisters were furious at this casual dismissal of Joyce as a human being."

The history recounted in *Madness in the Streets* is one of a vast dismissal of mental patients as human beings while the entire subject of mental health was transformed into

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an ideological battleground used by Tom Hayden's generation to attack society. Isaac and Armat suggest wise steps to restore care for the mentally ill, including overturning the legal doctrines won by the mental health bar. Taking these steps, of course, involves the larger job of throwing left-wing ideologues out of government and off the bench, at least as long, slow, and difficult a task as helping the mentally ill. Daunting as they seem, however, both jobs must be done.

Educational Fraud

The Closing of the American Heart: What's Really Wrong With America's *Schools*, by Ronald H. Nash, Probe Books, 235 pp., $14.99 cloth.

Reviewed by John Paul Arnerich

Is it possible for a well-rounded, worthwhile education to confine itself to the development of intellectual skills without addressing moral questions? What would it mean for an education to be limited to simple concerns of how students think without considering what they think about?

"A good education will be concerned with the whole human being, and this requires that something be said about moral and spiritual values," writes Ronald H. Nash in *The Closing of the American Heart: What's Really Wrong With America's Schools*. This prompts the question: whose moral system will be taught? The book is plainly meant to complement Allan Bloom's 1987 landmark *The Closing of the American Mind* whose thesis is that relativism — the denial of objective and unchanging standards of truth and goodness — permeates higher education. Nash asserts that such relativism has brought nihilism; after all, if everything is correct then nothing is.

Furthermore, in the very name of tolerance has come rejection of traditional, Judaeo-Christian values and a preference for, if not establishment of, what Nash calls the religion of Secular Humanism.

Nash argues that "education, like any important human activity, has an inescapable religious component," and that "an education that pretends to be religiously neutral is a fraud." Social questions, literature readings, and history lessons have indispensable links to moral considerations and, Nash writes, "[t]here is no such thing as removing religion from education; any attempt that claims to be such is merely a substitution of one set of ultimate commitments for another."

Nash has been a philosophy and religion professor for more than 25 years. This is his fourteenth book. Although he's a leader in the evangelical Christian community and his book conveys that perspective, his message is universally applicable. He is not out to convert the public schools to his theology. On the contrary, he argues for true pluralism in American society, including pluralism in American schools.

As noted earlier, Nash considers Secular Humanism the religion of public schools. He does not limit religion to belief in God with the concomitant activities of prayer and worship, but includes any profoundly-held "ultimate commitment or world view." In the case of Secular Humanism that is "manifested in the belief that God does not exist" and that the traditional content of religion "has no proper place in the teaching of a public school."

The alternatives Nash suggests to parents, however, are incomplete and inadequate. He offers homeschooling without discussing it or "fighting it out on the public school front" without giving tactical ammunition or guidance.

Nash is not out to rescue the public schools from secular humanists.

In the very name of tolerance has come rejection of traditional, Judaeo-Christian values.

He wants to break their monopoly on publicly-supported education. For Nash the solution lies in "educational choice" including "the option of attending without financial penalty, without the burden of double taxation, any private school that any family wishes."

Unfortunately, Nash limits his discussion to the voucher system, complete with the necessary warnings of the potential for government interference when public monies go directly to religiously affiliated private schools. It was for this reason that 1988 presidential candidate Jack Kemp instead supported the tax credit approach.

Nash criticizes Bloom for diagnosing the disease afflicting education without prescribing a cure. Nash prescribes the cure (a return to a sense of right and wrong) but leaves the reader looking for the way to the pharmacy. Nash has made his case, but as he admits, his is not a book on political action. The diagnosis and prescription are there, but after a prescription comes therapy. That's the next book to be written. CPR

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California's Economic Outlook

(Continued from page 17)

ident Reagan, Arthur Laffer, even some Hoover Institution economists) will be in the center of the debate.

THE CALIFORNIA economy may help shed light on the question. During President Reagan's military build-up, California's economic performance outstripped the nation's impressively. But now defense spending will probably shift from a Cold War (missiles, etc.) to conventional war emphasis. Our defense aerospace industry will suffer in that transition. Commercial aerospace, booming for several years, may also weaken as higher oil prices wallop airlines which will then cancel orders.

California's commercial real estate industry (office buildings, shopping centers, hotels, etc.) is quite overbuilt and may not see daylight until mid-decade. Tax-motivated overconstruction of the 1980s is partly to blame. California's housing industry, too, is weak.

The consensus of 10 California economists polled by *Western Blue Chip Economic Forecast* is for employment to rise 1.6 percent in 1991, as personal income and retail sales grow by less than 7 percent (*not* adjusted for inflation). For California, that's anemia.

The black cloud menacing the economy is public and private debt. During the 1980s, it zoomed to 2.4 times total U.S. annual economic output. Only once in the last century — in the middle of the Depression — was this ratio higher (2.6). Except in the 1930s and 1980s, it has never been above 1.7. This overleverage is at the heart of the savings and loan/banking/insurance crises. It *is* the federal government's crisis. Total federal debt is an obscene $3.2 trillion, and Congress has voted to let it go up by almost another $1 trillion into 1993. We rely on foreign capital flows to finance much of it, and this source is drying up. Thus, the spend and borrow hole we've dug for ourselves — even if it can really be blamed on big-spending liberal legislators — could be conservatism's public sector *bête noire* in this decade.

IN THE private sector, the early 1980s tax rate cuts did *not* sufficiently stimulate capital spending or productivity, as promised. The cuts *did* stimulate counter-productive leveraged buyouts/hostile takeovers, and other speculation. If overleverage sinks us, it may well set conservatism back on a traditionally conservative (prudent) course. CPR

Enemy Number One

(Continued from page 17)

minorities, and persons of color." Gertrude Himmelfarb called this "a perversion of the traditional idea of democracy — that ideas should be judged on their own merits rather than on the authority of the persons propounding them." Ironically, the analytical tools used to condemn repressive societies in the Third World, and even in the West itself, are just those developed in and taught best by Western culture.

CHARLES KRAUTHAMMER noted how community standards are adjusting to this cultural relativism. One may argue that there should be no law preventing performance by that band of jerks called 2 Live Crew, but for a Florida jury to say their local performance was not obscene is instructive. "He'll tear the [expletive for vagina] open 'cause it's satisfaction," Crew shouts; "Grabbed one by the hair, threw her on the floor, opened up her thighs and guess what I saw." If Floridians yawn at the Crew's calls to "bust your [expletive] then break your backbone...I wanna see you bleed," no wonder violence is increasing. Krauthammer concludes: "Until now, no society had combined total liberty with mass culture, let alone with technology that hard wires the stuff into the brain." Culture has consequences, and bad culture has bad consequences.

Responses must be on many levels, one of which is to reopen the American mind to quality and substance. True, quality can be elusive, but only a sexist pervert can miss the brutality in Crew's "music," or fail to see the difference between it and Strauss' *Im Abendrot*. Even a Floridian should still be able to tell both that Michelangelo's *Pieta* is supreme art and that Serrano's photograph of a crucifix in a tank of urine is not just sacrilege, but sick and stupid.

Americans must stop caving in to the "politics of race, gender, and multiculturalism" — in the words of Hilton Kramer — "as the only acceptable criterion of value in every realm of culture and life." This criterion doesn't even benefit the groups it purports to defend. Much less does it measure quality. What folly it is to pay tax dollars to support the PC rantings of "intellectuals" and "artists" who "create" for the express purpose of offending, debasing, and destroying the already rapidly declining cultural standards — and not least the right of free expression — of this country and the world — Western, Eastern, Third, you name it — out beyond. CPR

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Worth Repeating

A Woman's Right to Capitulate

by Frederica Mathewes-Green

WHEN I was in college the bumper sticker on my car read, "Don't labor under a misconception — legalize abortion." I was one of a handful of feminists on my campus, back in the days when we were jeered at as "bra-burning women's libbers." As we struggled against a hazy sea of sexism, abortion rights was a visible banner, a concrete, measurable goal. Though our other foes were elusive, within the fragile boundary of our skin, at least, we would be sovereign. What could be more personal than our reproductive lives? How could any woman oppose it?

I oppose it now. It has been a slow process, my path from a pro-choice to a pro-life position, and I know that unintended pregnancy raises devastating problems. But I can no longer avoid the realization that legalizing abortion was the wrong solution; we have let in a Trojan Horse whose hidden betrayal we've just begun to see.

A woman with an unplanned pregnancy faces more than "inconvenience"; many adversities, financial and social, at school, at work, and at home confront her. Our mistake was in looking at these problems and deciding that the fault lay with the woman, that she should be the one to change. We focused on her swelling belly, not the discrimination that had made her so desperate. We advised her, "Go have this operation and you'll fit right in."

WHAT A CHOICE we made for her. She climbs onto a clinic table and endures a violation deeper than rape — the nurse's hand is wet with her tears — then is grateful to pay for it, grateful to be adapted to the social machine that rejected her when pregnant. And the machine grinds on, rejecting her pregnant sisters. It is a cruel joke to call this a woman's "choice." We may choose to sacrifice our life and career plans, or choose to undergo humiliating invasive surgery and sacrifice our offspring. How fortunate we are — we have a choice! Perhaps it's time to amend the slogan — "Abortion: a woman's right to capitulate."

For over a hundred years feminists have warned us that abortion is a form of violence and oppression against women and their children. They called it "child-murder" (Susan B. Anthony), "degrading to women" (Elizabeth Cady Stanton), "appalling" proof of "the misery of the working class" (Emma Goldman), "most barbaric" (Margaret Sanger), and "a disowning of feminine values" (Simone de Beauvoir). How have we lost this wisdom?

Abortion has become the accepted way of dealing with unplanned pregnancies, and women who make another choice are viewed as odd, backward, and selfish. Across the nation three thousand crisis pregnancy centers struggle, unfunded and unrecognized, to help these women with housing, clothing, medical care, and job training, before and after pregnancy. These volunteers must battle the assumption that "they're supposed to abort" — especially poor women who hear often enough how much we resent our tax dollars going to feed their children.

A PARALLEL disparaging of pregnancy itself also has an unhealthy ring. Harping on the discomforts of pregnancy treats women as weak, incompetent; yet we are uniquely equipped for this role, and strong enough to do much harder things that this. Every woman need not bear a child, but every woman should feel proud kinship in the earthy, elemental beauty of birth. To hold it in contempt is to reject our distinctive power, "our bodies, ourselves."

There is a last and still more terrible cost to abortion, one that we have not yet faced. We have treated the loss of our fetuses as a theoretical loss, a sad-but-necessary loss, as of civilians in wartime. We have not yet realized that the offspring lost are not the enemy's, nor our neighbor's, but our own. And it is not a loss of inert, amorphous tissue, but of a growing being unique in history. There are no generic zygotes. The one-cell fertilized ovum is a new individual, the present form of a tall blue-eyed girl, for example, with Grandad's red hair and Great-aunt Ida's singing voice. Look at any family, see how the traits and characteristics run down the generations in a stream. Did we really think our own children would be different?

Like the gypsy in Verdi's opera, *Il Trovatore*, our frustration has driven us to desperate acts. Outraged by the Count's cruel injustice, she stole his infant son and, in a crazed act of vengeance, flung him into the flames. In our desperate bid for justice we have not yet realized whom we have thrown into the flames; the moment of realization will be as devastating for us as it was for her.

Until that time, legal abortion invites us to go on doing it, 4,500 times a day. And, with ruthless efficiency, that machine grinds on.

Excerpted from remarks made by Frederica Mathewes-Green, vice-president of Feminists for Life, at the College of William and Mary, April 4, 1990, in Williamsburg, Virginia.

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And this new liberal-left onslaught may ultimately be the most damaging to our country yet. Let's look at just a few examples:

- The Americans With Disabilities Act, which created huge new classes of "disabled" people (including but not limited to: drug addicts; AIDS patients; drunks; psychotics; and maybe even transvestites) and will force employers to hire them no matter what the problem or cost.
- The outrageously expensive Clean Air Act, which will impose untold costs — conservative estimates run upwards of $100 billion — and will cost tens of thousands of jobs. And yet will yield little improvement in our environment for the price.
- The New Child Care Act, which will create huge new federal bureaucracies and generate massive new regulations to solve a problem best left to individual families.
- The new, Ted Kennedy-sponsored "Civil Rights Act of 1990," which will reimpose and broaden the "quota" system in affirmative action and push us even farther away from President Reagan's dream of a truly "color-blind" society.
- Massive new mandated health and maternity benefit programs that will cost businesses — and, eventually, consumers — billions and may actually result in much poorer health insurance covering many workers who may not want or need it.
- Actual budget *increases* for the National Endowment for the Arts. Even as American taxpayers are outraged by the blasphemy and pornography sponsored by the Endowment, their budget is scheduled for an increase—allowing the NEA to fund even more outrageous "art."

And to top it all off, under huge pressure from the media and the liberals in Congress — and unfortunately from many within his own Administration— President Bush has now broken his pledge of "No new taxes."

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